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**BOHOL OUTMIGRANTS:  
A CASE STUDY**

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Problem

Large numbers of Filipinos today continue to keep moving from one place to another, hence, the continuing interest by researchers on the study of internal migration. However, the existing literature on migration tend to be fragmented rather than cumulative (Cariño, 1976) and determinants are little understood (Abad, 1981) and not uniformly and comprehensively covered (Simmons et al., 1977). There are good reasons for this current situation. Many migration studies do not focus directly on migration but rather are incorporated into larger concerns such as socio-cultural change, urbanization, peasant and urban subcultures, and similar issues (as cited in Abad, 1981). Secondly, investigators tend to be stuck in their own disciplinary concerns rather than ask broader questions that cut across the conventional disciplinary boundaries (Simmons et al., 1977). A third source of limitation is the focus of most migration research upon the macro rather than the micro level features of the migration process (Abad, 1981; Simmons et al., 1977). Another reason is that despite the recognition of the migration process as involving a variety of complex forces and relationships, methodologies used as the Census or narrowly focussed survey designs are ineffective in capturing these forces and relationships at work (Simmons et al., 1977).

Migration can be influenced by economic, social, psychological, political and medical factors and these can occur in a great many combinations. Being complex, the genuine reasons for migration cannot be captured through the use of non-probing survey interviews. They do not penetrate deeply; reasons for migration obtained from



studies using this method may just be post hoc rationalizations; therefore, they are not too useful (Mowat, 1977; Cariño and Cariño, 1976).

### Purpose of the Study

This study is aimed at uncovering the real reasons for outmigration that surveys fail to discover. The investigator believes that economic reasons too often cited in migration research (Reforma, 1972; Cariño, 1973; Zablan, 1977; Go, 1979; Zachariah and Pernia as cited in Abad, 1981; Pernia, 1977; Cabaraban et al., 1975; Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1975 among others) are too simplistic motives, and do not portray reality. Viewing migration as a wholly economic-motivated decision is stripping the migrant of his other needs that, in reality, transcend the economic. Rather, she believes that an interplay of factors are responsible for increasing outmigrations from rural areas. To this effect, the major objective of this study is to find out what these factors are by collecting partial life or case histories of the outmigrants by interviewing them personally. The secondary objectives of the study are to determine the effect of the outmigration upon the migrant as he perceives it, upon the household as the respondent (the household head or spouse) perceives it, and to spell out policy implications and directions for future inquiries based upon the highlights of the research results. A complete picture of outmigration from the rural area requires 1) a look into the households of origin for background information relation to migration decision making and behavior and, more importantly, 2) a look into the mind of the outmigrant of which there are two types: the non-return migrants and returnees.

Due to the exploratory nature of the case study of migration, no hypotheses are formulated in this work to establish relationships. The main objective of the study

is to identify the factors that work together and trigger an individual's movement out of the rural area.

### Importance of the Study

As has been frequently pointed out by critics on migration research, the determinants of migration in the Philippines (as well as in Asia and Africa) have been inadequate, little understood and have been produced mostly from macro studies and, hence, could not serve much as useful bases for policy making. Also, there has not been a cumulative effort to build upon already existing research. The present study modestly aims to contribute to the coherent building up of migration literature in the micro level. To achieve this, a deeper analysis into the lives of the migrants, their inter-active links with their kin both at home and in place of destination as well as with their parents' past is necessary. While no attempts are made to establish relationships of migration variables because such is not the goal of the study, the study utilizes the case history method in discovering latent and implicit interlocking motives for moving. As Balan et al. (1969: 105) said in their paper on migration in which they used life histories, the method "undeniably offers a richness and concreteness of detail and above all, the opportunity to examine the sequence of behavior in the larger context of the outmigrant's life."

### Definition of Terms

Outmigrant. A household member becomes an outmigrant when he has left the sample household in Bohol for a duration of 90 days. When at time of interview the 90-day rule has not yet been reached, the interviewer asks if at the time of departure the migrant had a definite intention of being away for at least 90 days. If the reply is "yes", then the

definite intention substitutes for the actual absence in cases where a 90-day absence has not yet been completed. The respondent is "temporarily away" if his absence is intentionally less than 90 days, he is considered not to have lost residency status in the household of interview.

Returnee. Applying the same rule above, an outmigrant becomes a returnee when he actually returns to the household of interview to stay for at least 90 days. A person is also classified as a returnee if his actual presence in the household is less than 90 days but he expresses a definite intention to stay for the ruled duration at the time of arrival. A doubtful decision is treated as a decision not to stay.

Sample areas. The Bohol Maternal Child Health Family Planning Project from which the sample migrants under study have been drawn had 63 sample areas with a population of approximately 40,000 in 8,000 households. These sample areas (SAs) are scattered throughout the Project Area in the northwestern part of Bohol. The sample outmigrants came from 45 of these SAs. The 63 sample areas are: 1) seven sections of Tagbilaran City; 2) seven parts of poblaciones of towns and one entire poblacion; 3) four offshore islands (two of which are connected to the province mainland by land bridges; 4) 44 barrios or a combination of two small barrios geographically adjacent to each other (there are four such cases).

Household member. To be a member of a household, an individual must have resided in the household for ninety days or have the intention of doing so. Students below age 25 and single who were studying away but who were financed by parents were considered residents of the household.

Marital status. There are four categories.

1. Single refers to never-married persons.
2. Married refers to persons living together as man and wife, whether legally married or not. Persons separated from their spouses for reasons other than incompatibility (like work and illness) are considered married.
3. Widowed refers to persons whose spouses have died and who have not remarried since.
4. Separated refers to persons who are not living together with their spouses because of marital discord. The separation may be legal or not.

The case history approach. This is a modified life history method; instead of depicting the whole life process of a unit (an individual, family, group, community, etc.), it selects only the relevant aspects that have direct bearing upon the kind of information sought. In the context of the present study, only such aspects as migration behavior of the parents, siblings, and of the community as a whole obtained through migration histories; the circumstances and events leading to the migration and who were behind these events were given focus. The case histories were reconstructed from tape recorded in-depth, unstructured interviews with the outmigrants, both returnees and non-returned ones. In a sense, this investigation is a case study with particular reference given to historical perspectives. Throughout the paper, the term "case history" will be taken to refer to the longer term "case study with particular reference for historical perspectives."

### Survey of Related Literature

Migration involves a variety of complex forces and relationships. Bogue (1959) expressed this complexity as

follows: "Migration, like so many other events in the realm of human behavior, can be triggered by a vast array of situations. It can be influenced by economics, social, psychological, political and medical factors and these can occur in a great many combinations" (p. 499). Hence, a process as complex and dynamic as a people's mobility cannot simply be understood by single-factor explanations like the economic as has often been recognized in migration research (Chapman, 1976: 127).

Even with the recognition of this complexity, migration studies have often been simplistic in their approach to the understanding of the process. Moreover, as Simmons et al. (1977: 9) pointed out, migration research reflects narrow disciplinary concerns that fail to transcend disciplinary boundaries. To illustrate this point, they noted that "demographers have been traditionally interested in migration selectivity, hence their focus on migrant characteristics; anthropologists and sociologists have been concerned with the adaptation of migrants to new urban settings, and have stressed kinship ties, informal communication networks, and the search for work and housing; geographers have been heavily concerned with the spatial aspects of population redistribution, thus their focus on the size and directions of migrant streams and on the effects of distance of migration." (p. 9).

Viewing migration as a form of human investment, for example, is the concern of economists. As cited in Speare (1976: 1), Todaro, for instance, has developed a migration model showing in mathematical terms how this theory works. Its key assumption is that migrants act to maximize their income taking the probability of employment into account; that they continue coming to the city as long as the increase in earnings multiplied by the probability of obtaining high wage urban employment exceeds the cost of moving. However, the application of this model to the study of labor

utilization among urban migrants in Indonesia has failed to establish the relationship of migration to labor utilization. While most migrants come to the city for employment, the study showed there are also migrants who come to pursue high school education. In addition, few migrants seem to be attracted by high paying jobs or wait long to find a job. The majority of them end up in low paying tertiary sector jobs that appear to be permanent and not "waiting posts" until higher paying jobs open up, although some migrants intend to remain in the city.

An example of a study on differentials of migrant characteristics also using the economic model is the study by Gary Fields (1979). He tested five hypotheses on lifetime migrants in Columbia in an attempt to explore determinants of population migration using the expected income model. All five hypotheses were confirmed to be true. They are as follows: 1) women in Columbia migrate at higher rates than men; 2) women in Columbia are more responsive than men to economic opportunities associated with migration for sociological reason; the economic incentives are greater for men; 3) high income areas have higher immigration rates than low income areas; 4) areas with fuller, more stable employment have higher rates of immigration than do other areas; and 5) areas where the employment composition is relatively favorable have higher immigration than areas with poorer job mixes.

In the Philippines, as earlier cited, the literature on migration is largely fragmented and not cumulative (Cariño, 1976). More importantly, micro level studies are wanting (Abad, 1981: 139). Simplistic approaches that merely observe the abject poverty at the area of origin and the numerous opportunities available in the place of destination or use elaborate regression models to prove the economic theory as the major factor in explaining why people move or stay are abundant. Immigration studies seem to emphasize the "push" roles while outmigration

studies, the "pull". Surveys explaining the reasons for migration by combining the conscious or subjective reasons and the objective by estimating land pressure variables such as tenancy rates, amount of production, or density have also been tried but they have failed to point out what really are the main operating mechanisms underlying the massive internal movements by Filipino migrants. Abad (1981) claims that the absence of a complete theoretical framework is the prime reason for the current state of migration research in the Philippines. Simmons et al. (1977) had earlier observed this. Cariño and Cariño (1976) and Mowat (1977) have demonstrated that survey types of research are not effective in eliciting the true reasons for migration: the underlying forces that trigger them. These authors find that reasons given in surveys are post hoc rationalizations and are, therefore, not useful. Cariño and Cariño (1976) and Chapman (1976) agree that an interplay of factors operate together to trigger a move. Chapman specifies these as the interplay of social and economic variables.

On the whole, it has been the approach used in understanding the migration process in the Philippines that failed to capture the processes that underlie the act of migration. The nature of the data source is usually a very influential factor in shaping the patterns observed. In Indonesia for instance, the use of census data not only results in an incomplete migration selectivity and its impact but in many cases, it may be distorted so that the image obtained is more an artifact of data-collection procedures than of a significant socio-demographic process (Hugo, 1981). Abad's raising the issue of the absence of a theoretical framework upon which to base one's analysis of the migration process 1) that would demonstrate interrelationships of variables and 2) that would combine the macro and micro level approach may well be the answer to the problem. This method was used by Chapman (1976) in

the context of the Solomon Islands' tribal mobility. In this study, Chapman proved two points: one, that the considerable mobility of a people is due to an interplay of social and economic factors and not merely due to economic reasons, and two, he demonstrated how findings at the micro level can be aggregated to produce patterns at the macro level. In the first point, he identified the mobility system of a tribe in the Solomon Islands and analyzed it in terms of a mobility-roles continuum. He viewed mobility in all its complexity from the standpoint of the village and it was defined as any absence of 24 hours or more. This reflected a deliberate attempt to derive definitions that were locally meaningful rather than predetermined by external conventions or alien contexts. The mobility system in the villages under study consists of three types of moves:

1. Shifts in village locations, generally towards the coast, are a customary practice in responding to natural hazards, epidemics, land exhaustion, warfare and sorcery.

2. Moves by younger persons--predominantly adult males--that are of less than one year's duration are for the purpose of 1) earning money in the main town; 2) visiting the main town, district and mission stations for retail, educational, medical, and administrative services.

3. Short term -- mainly familial moves of a highly spontaneous nature -- which usually involves an absence of less than eight days are for reasons such as to "go walkabout" to other villages and visit kinsfolk, discuss clan and church business, attend a feast; to live temporarily in the garden house; to hunt wild pig or trap fish; to quit the community briefly out of shame or by way of protest.



The author summarizes the constant mobility in the Solomon Islands, as in the case of South Central Africa, as reflecting the conflict between the centrifugal attractions of commercial, social, and administrative services and wage employment, and the centripetal power of village obligations, social relationships and kinship ties.

In demonstrating micro/macro linkages, Chapman used a variety of field instruments aimed at yielding both a cross-sectional and longitudinal data. His instruments were 1) the village census; 2) a mobility register spanning varying periods; 3) conjugal histories for all married or formerly married person; 4) a handful of migrant life histories; and oral accounts, from senior men. These instruments function to test the complementary use of demographic procedures with those that are traditionally geographical (settlement mapping, cartographic analysis) and anthropological (participant observation, collection of individual and/or family histories).

Chapman's article ends with a summative statement: "The identification of micro-macro linkages in human behavior demands sensitive studies of individuals and the varied contexts within which they are enmeshed and unashamedly inductive field research can yield, surprisingly, general conclusions, as the macroscale for one level of research with one set of conclusions becomes the microscale for the next" (p. 140).

The methods used by Chapman in understanding the mobility of a people should inspire researchers to use similar tools. For the present, to respond to the constructive criticism albeit a pessimistic view of the present state of migration research in the country (refer to Cariño, 1976; Simmons et al., 1977; Abad, 1981), researchers should be encouraged to critically build upon the existing useful and relevant body of knowledge and improve on approaches that link the macro with the micro level.

Some micro studies on Philippine migration are worthy of review here. Pernia's (1977) approach in analyzing decision to migrate or not migrate is a version of the human capital approach in which he set out to hypothesize personal with household attributes (age, education, occupation, marital status) and external factors (projected income, kinship ties and size of municipality of residence) as independent variables influencing migration decisions. Pernia found that personal attributes were more significant than external factors. Of the external factors, however, the presence of kinship ties appears to be the most important determinant. This latter finding reiterates earlier findings by others such as Simkins and Wernstedt (1963) and Zosa (1973) among others.

The use of case histories in identifying the principal reasons for migration was used by Cariño and Cariño (1976). This micro investigation served to complement a larger study on regional development. The reasons found in the larger study in their order of importance were 1) employment; 2) marriage; 3) education; and 4) chain migration. The authors admit that the case histories essentially supported these findings. But the more important conclusion by the authors was that the cases demonstrated "that answers given in questionnaire surveys may be post hoc rationalizations as well as attempts to summarize a complicated, not always consciously established calculus." They advise that "there is a need to analyze the entire migration process and allow the migrant to narrate the events leading up to the migration and then to infer the reasons and explanations using his perspective" (p. 5). The case histories also support the contention that there is no single reason and often no explicit decision to migrate. Like Chapman (1976), the authors advance that "a migrant's motivations for moving are usually linked with his relationships with his family and the community" (p. 6).

Chapman was clearer in showing this relationship and more specific in demonstrating it by examining it through the mobility-roles continuum. Here, he was able to relate a village member's mobility and his social status in the village. Although the set ups are totally different for the two studies, a comparison of roles could still be made. The role of the household member, for instance, in the case of the Cariño study could be a modification of Chapman's village social status.

Chapman's study also brings to mind the phenomenon of return migration or constant movements by members in an area. This phenomenon cannot be detected through the use of census data because the nature of these movements are short term and frequent (Hugo, 1981: 388). Often, moves are misinterpreted to be single and permanent. Shuttling movements are often overlooked in studies on the demographic impact of population mobility when this needs to be given importance because its impact in creating imbalance in age and sex composition is often different in nature and frequently more marked than is the case with permanent moves (Hugo, 1981: 388). Return migration or repeated, temporary moves in the Philippines have not been a well-researched aspect of migration. To the investigator's knowledge, there are only two studies done on return migration and these are both macro research.

Costello (1980) analyzed correlates of return migration\* from Cagayan de Oro City. She found that there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among returned migrants. This finding agrees with Van den Muijzenberg's (1975) earlier conclusion and Choi's (circa 1979) finding of urban-to-rural return migrants in Korea but is at variance

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\*Return migrants in this study refer to persons who moved into and then out of Cagayan de Oro City to the municipality from which they had come. In the 18th-month period of observation, these migrants had moved more than once.

with the proposition of Campbell and Johnson that return migrants tend to be older than migrants in general (Costello, 1980: 1"). While Muijzenberg's study of return migrants in Luzon found males as dominating the returning streams, Costello's finding was that more than two-thirds were females. In a study in West Java, comparing long term or permanent migrants and temporary migrants, a most striking feature in the selectivity pattern is the almost complete lack of participation of females in temporary migration (as cited in Hugo, p. 388). The male temporary movers are overwhelmingly concentrated in the working ages. When attention is confined to only the working age population, there is little age selectivity within the workforce. More than three-quarters of temporary migrants were married as opposed to less than half of permanent migrants.

Costello's study also found female return migrants to be largely nonmarried. The Korean study speculated that being young, return migrants might be unmarried at the time they moved to the city. Zachariah (1966), on the contrary, found an excess of married women and of young children in Bombay returning to live in their home villages. This was explained as being due to the fact that many male adult migrants to Indian cities send their families home because the cost of living is lower in rural areas than in the city (as cited in Costello, 1980: 13). Return migrants in the Korean study were found to have more education than nonreturn migrants and had more experience of urban living. Costello's study did not find a selectivity pattern here. Occupationwise, at time of departure from Cagayan de Oro, return migrants with white collar position made up only five percent for females and 16 percent for males.

Return migrants in Korea tended to move more as individuals and more return migrants moved to the city for education purposes. Hugo's study in Indonesia reveals that whereas permanent migration typically involves nuclear

family units or unmarried persons, temporary migration usually involves a separation of male householder and the rest of his nuclear family and most of the wider family unit. As demonstrated in Trager's (1981) case study, return migrants from urban to rural areas in Korea maintained strong personal ties to their place of origin while they lived in the city. The most striking finding in this study is that, as a whole, return migrants were not failures in the city as most of the literature has assumed. The author explained this discrepancy by proposing that the characteristics of return migrants are largely determined by whether the return migrants are pushed from the city or pulled by attractive conditions in the place of origin (p. 2). Costello's (1980) explanation to this similar finding in her study of return migration from the City of Cagayan de Oro was to propose that return migration could be a sense of "status inconsistency" or of "relative deprivation" among migrants who have been unable to translate their moderately high levels of educational attainment into an occupational status. If returning males are to be judged as "failures" this is perhaps best understood in a relative rather than in an absolute sense. They have "failed" relative to their own background and expectations (p. 21).

In Van den Muijzenberg's (1975) study of cir-commuters moving repeatedly between rural areas in Central Luzon and the Manila metropolitan area, these migrants who are mostly adolescents and adult males work temporarily in Manila before returning seasonally to their village for planting and harvesting, as well as for occasional visits (as cited in Costello, 1980). Underlying this finding is the strong role that kinship plays in the life of migrants. Adolescents' shuttling back and forth from place of work to place of origin and adult males' not uprooting their family of procreation in their place of origin are indications of maintaining their ties not only with relatives but with

the home community as well. This proposition was the theme of the study Trager (1981) undertook in trying to understand the link urban migrants from Dagupan maintain with their relatives at home. Trager's case study found that the move into the city does not mean a sharp break from family and friends at home. While rural-urban migrants form new ties in the city through school and work activities, there is no need for them to cut off ties with those in the rural areas. This results to a complex network of interaction, with movement back and forth not only of the migrant but also of his friends and relatives (Trager, 1981: 221). Trager's case study provided several patterns that, according to her, have duplicated the survey phase. These are additional, if not entirely new perspectives in migration research. These findings (pp. 226-227) were:

- 1) Decisions about migration are made not only by individual migrants acting alone, but by individuals in the context of their family and personal networks.
- 2) Ties between migrants and other family members continue to be strong and to have considerable content. They are not simply the emotional ties that an individual has with home and family. Rather, through regular visiting and the sending of food and material items in both directions, social and economic links are continually renewed. Non-working migrants visit home frequently, and receive visitors from home. Those working send monetary remittances and purchase goods which can be used at home. But the flow is not all one-way; they also receive goods like rice and vegetables from the family home.
- 3) Those identified as "migrants" then continue to be part of the same social and economic unit as those who are at home.
- 4) The rural-urban contrast is an artificial construct because the individuals involved are not really thinking in terms of the contrasts between rural and urban places. Rather, they are operating in a context of a variety of personal and economic constraints and are responding to particular opportunities and situations.

For some, this means a move to an urban place; but at another time, it may mean a move back home. This observation is analogous to Chapman's centrifugal-centripetal influences that work upon a wage laborer and to which he responds in this manner: the centrifugal factors (money, for instance) induce him to leave his tribal domicile and centripetal ones draw him back again. Similarly, a "big man" (influential, leader) in the Solomon Islands responds to one facet of a territorially delimited social system in which he solves the problem of meeting a varied set of counterpoised obligations and responsibilities by participating segmentally in each. At one time, he is a migrant worker, at another a sub-clan leader, at yet another a church attender, copra maker, husband or voter. To fulfill any, all, or some combination of these roles may involve temporary absence from the household.

In the above studies, return and/or temporary migration is difficult to detach from the interplay of the social-economic factors. Kinship ties, on the whole, draw a migrant to go back home. As Chapman correctly describes it:

The constant shuttling back and forth from the village of origin to other villages reflects the conflict between the centrifugal attractions of commercial, social and administrative services and wage employment, and the centripetal power of village obligations, social relationships and kinship ties.

### Organization of the Study

Based upon the objectives of the study, the discussion of findings is organized into three chapters. Chapter III which bears the heading "A Look Into the Household of Origin" discusses the findings from the household survey phase of the study. It covers five topics, namely: 1) socio-economic-demographic composition and characteristics of

the households of origin; 2) migration histories of household members; 3) decision making by the household related to migration; 4) impact of the outmigration upon the household; and 5) summary of the salient findings of the survey. Chapter IV which discusses results from the analysis of individual case histories of returned and non-returned migrants is divided into four sections. Section one discusses and compares the returnees and non-returned migrants in terms of selected socio-demographic characteristics. Section two discusses in a purely descriptive and illustrative fashion, the true reasons for migration showing their inter-linkage with other factors. Section three provides additional support for section two by discussing the migrants' perception of pull factors of the City, its greatest needs, the sense they make out of their life in city in comparison to their life in place of origin. It also discusses the impact of the outmigration upon the migrant himself. Section four summarizes the findings of Chapter IV. Chapter V concludes the study with a general discussion of salient findings of the study, and their relevance to policy as well as a brief dicussion on directions for future research.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

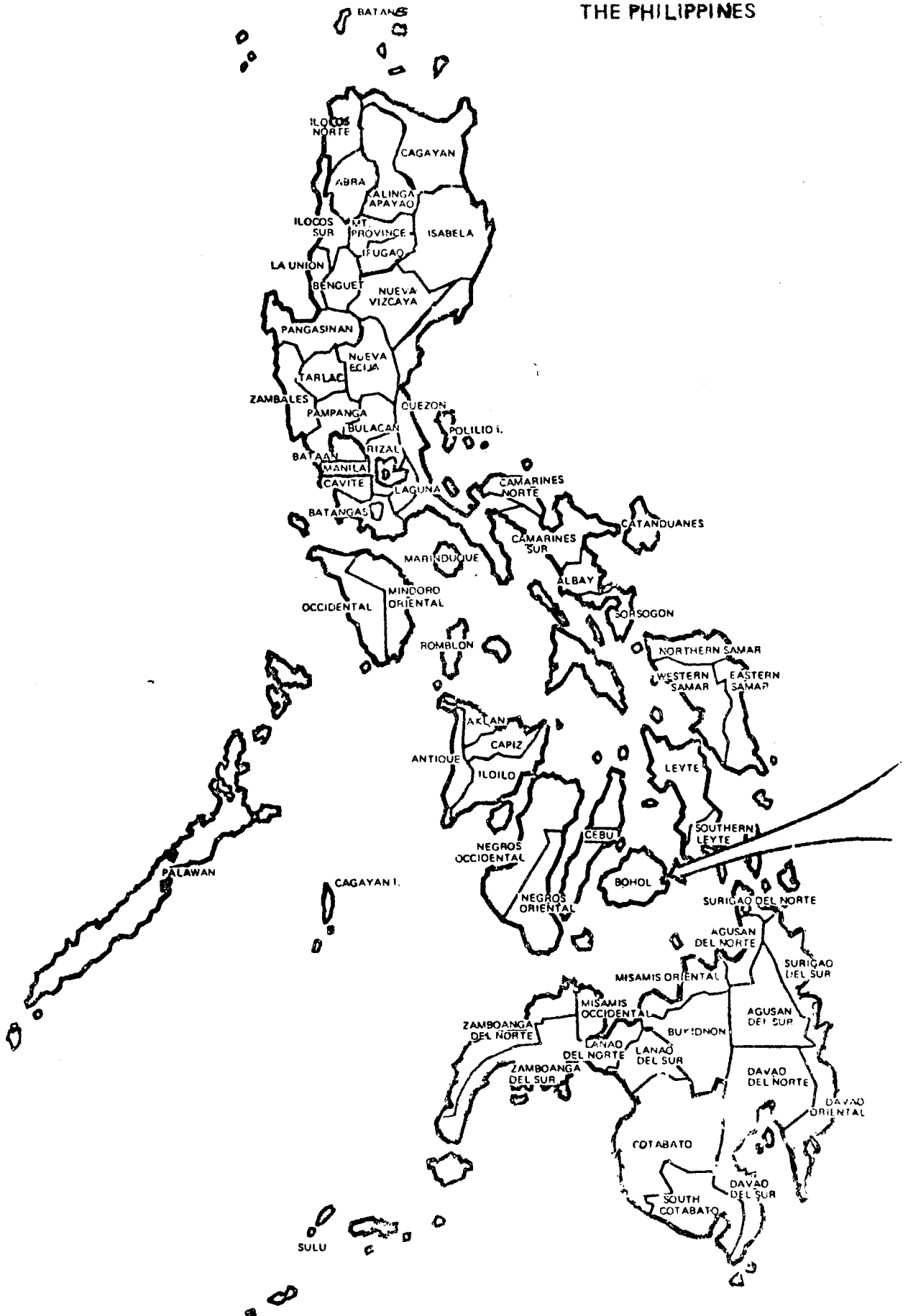
#### Methodology

This study was largely meant to be a formulative one even if it was backed up by a household survey. The survey part only served as background information for the case study as well as the basis for identifying which migrants to select and where they could be reached. The central focus of the investigation was on identifying factors that explain a person's movement through his own personal account of the events and circumstances leading to the movement. His act of migration is also interpreted in the proper historical perspective in the context of his parents; siblings' and the community's migration behavior. With this method of eliciting reasons for migration, the study was able to compare the conscious but often rationalized responses with the latent, subjective interpretations by the migrant of his behavior in a relaxed, unstructured conversation with the investigator. The study, therefore, attempts to look into the mind of the migrant by tracing him in the city and back to his home if he had returned rather than by asking about him through a surrogate respondent; often this surrogate respondent interprets the behavior of the migrant from the former's own viewpoint.

#### The Setting of the Study

This study is examined in the context of Bohol Province. Located in the Central Visayas region, Bohol (see Figure 1) has been a net outmigration province since the last four decades (Pascual, 1965; Flieger, 1976). During the intercensal period of 1950-1960, Bohol had a net outmigration rate of -166 per thousand population,

FIGURE 1  
THE PHILIPPINES



ranking fifth among 30 outmigration provinces. In the succeeding decade, 1960-1970, it had a net outmigration rate of -142 per thousand population, ranking first among 35 outmigration provinces. Findings from studies conducted by the Maternal Child Health Family Planning Project show that provincial outmigrants are selective: they are mainly the young between the ages 15-34 (Adem et al., 1978; Manuel, 1975; Williamson, 1976; Go, 1979). Like the national Filipino migrants, Boholano females are just as migratory as males.

Bohol has a population density problem. Its density of 184 persons per square kilometer is above the national average of 140.2 persons per square kilometer in 1975 (Go, 1979).

Despite the net outmigration, Bohol has a growth problem as well. During the period 1975-1979, it had a crude birth rate in the range of 34-39 per thousand population and a crude death rate of 8.5-10.1 per thousand population and an infant mortality rate of 59.0-74.7 per thousand live births (Adem, 1980).

The specific locale of the study was the northwestern part of the Bohol Province (see Figure 2). It was a Project Area of the international Maternal Child Health and Family Planning Project from 1975 through 1979. The Evaluation Unit of this Project collected birth, death, and migration data throughout the life of the Project. The migrants being studied in this investigation were taken from the migration forms and household records of the dual record study of the project. The dual record system estimated birth and death rates in the Project area. Birth and death records were being collected continuously in the 63 sample areas (see Figure 3) for one half of the system and the periodic household survey for the other half. The 63 sample areas, considered the master sample

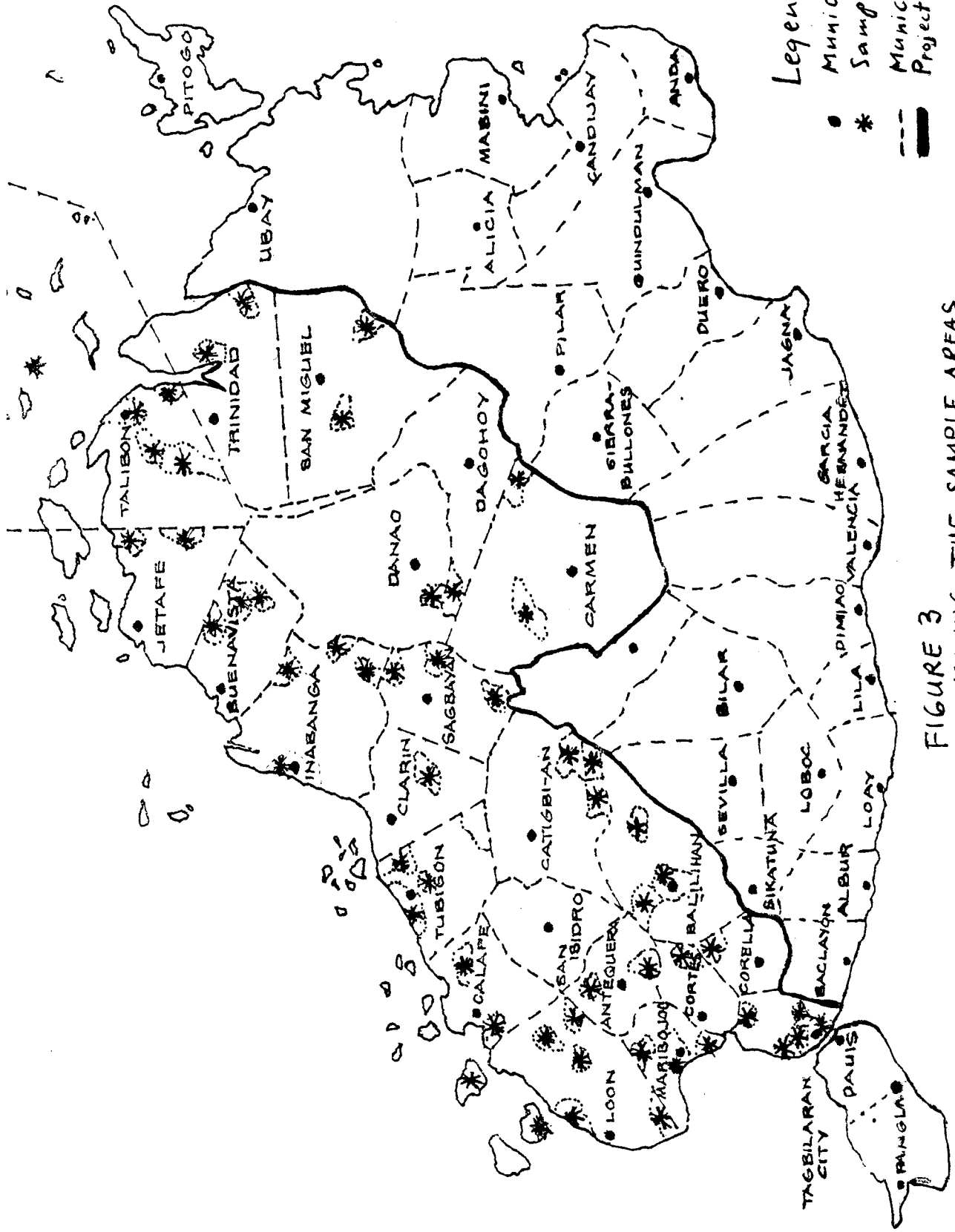


FIGURE 3  
MAP SHOWING THE SAMPLE AREAS  
OF THE DUAL RECORD STUDY



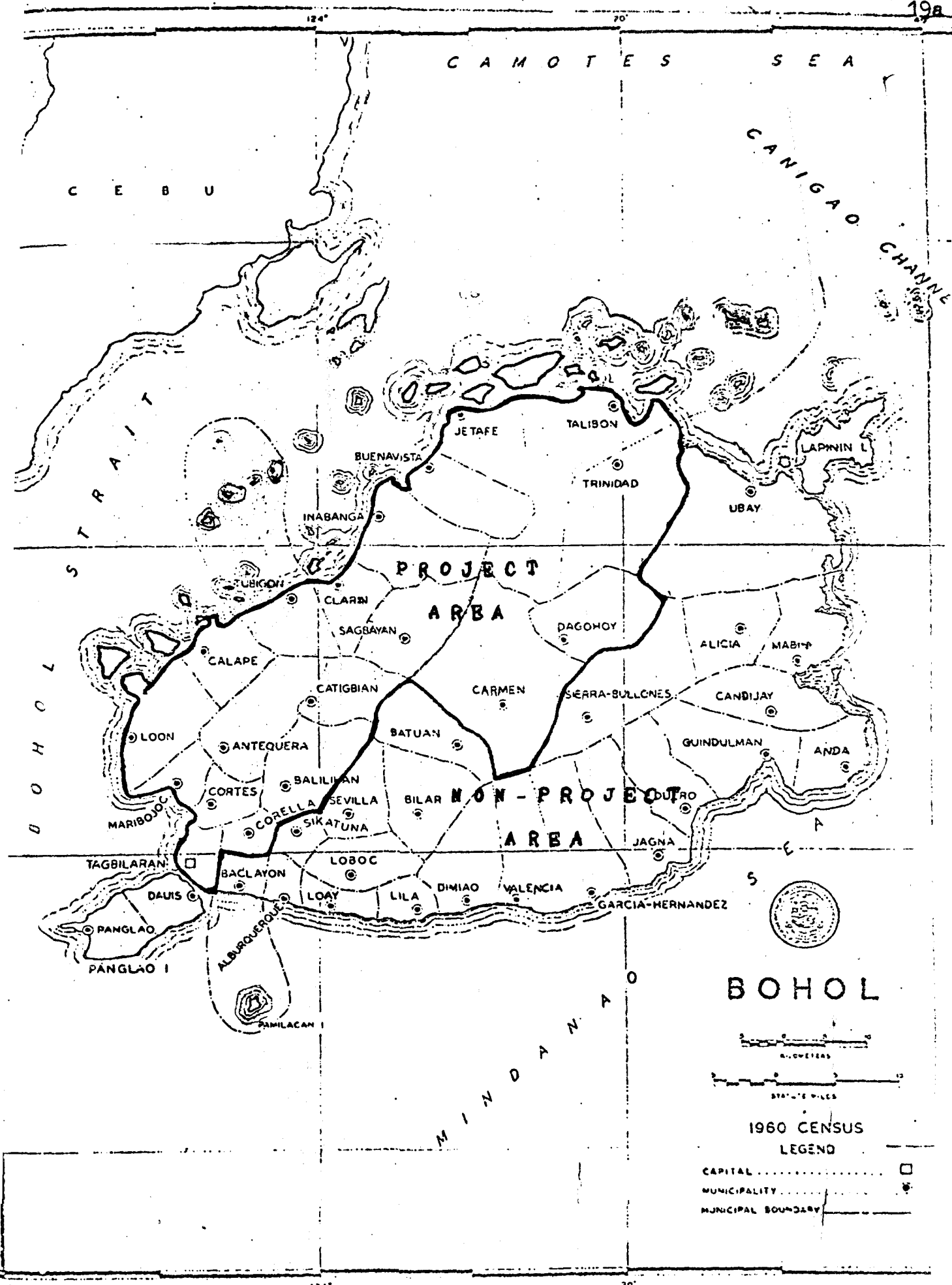


FIGURE 2  
MAP SHOWING THE PROJECT AND NON-PROJECT AREAS  
OF THE BOHOL PROVINCE MCH/FP PROJECT

of the Project, had a population of 45,000 and about 8,000 households drawn through cluster, systematic technique.

#### Sample Selection, Data Collection and Instruments

The household survey on 106 households were total households with outmigrants during 1978-1979 who headed for Cagayan de Oro. The choice for Cagayan de Oro City was arbitrary, it being the place of residence of the investigator. Aside from making the task of locating the Boholano migrants relatively easier, it also saved time and costs. The rationale for limiting outmigrations studied to those occurring between 1978 and 1979 was to make sure that the highly mobile Boholano could still be caught in Cagayan during 1980-81.

The identification and selection of the sample population proceeded as follows:

1. A research assistant went over the household records of the 63 sample areas (of the MCH-FP Dual Record Study) in January-February, 1980. By sample area (a barrio, a municipality poblacion or portion of it, and Tagbilaran City district), she recorded every outmigrant in the household who was reported to have gone to Cagayan de Oro during 1978 and 1979. The household listing had to be matched with the information recorded in the migration card (each household having migrants -- in or out -- has a corresponding migration card, listing its migrant members with their characteristics) to make sure that reference was to the same outmigrant and that none was missed. There were 158 outmigrants identified leaving 112 households in 1978-79 for Cagayan de Oro City.

2. The household survey was conducted in June-July, 1980. Only 106 out of the 112 households were interviewed. Six households outmigrated (only one of which was interviewed

in Cagayan de Oro). Also, it was found that not all 158 migrants had actually gone to Cagayan de Oro. The rest had gone to other places in Mindanao but which Boholanos mistook for Cagayan de Oro. (This is a common mistake of respondents who live far from Mindanao. The Mindanao area they tend to call Cagayan de Oro, the gateway to the Mindanao Island.) In the analysis, other migrants were included so that the sample yielded to 133 outmigrants.

The interview schedule, aimed at providing background data for the case histories and identifying case migrants, was worded in the Visayan dialect. The 20-page instrument was pretested many times on genuine Boholano migrants whom the investigator knew personally in Cagayan de Oro. After a couple of revisions, the final version was pretested again to discover more weaknesses. The corrected final version of the schedule was divided into five parts (see Appendix).

3. The conduct of in-depth, unstructured interviews were done in November-December 1980 in Bohol and in January-May 1981 in Cagayan de Oro. The interviews were conducted in Visayan by the investigator herself, were tape recorded as well as noted down. After each interview, the written notes were compared to the tape record for missing information. Afterwards, case histories were reconstructed from the notes. Only then would the next interview be started.

The interviews proceeded in a relaxed fashion. The case migrant was given time to think through his responses. During the whole interview, the interaction was informal and free from the presence of others.

From the household survey (conducted in June-July 1980) only 60 migrants from Bohol were traceable in Cagayan de Oro on the basis of addresses supplied by the household respondents. (The investigator had decided to construct



case histories only for those who had actually been to or were in Cagayan de Oro even if the survey phase included others.) The rest had no adequate addresses, others had proceeded to other places from Cagayan. The intention of selecting a maximum of fifty cases could not be fulfilled: between the time the survey was fielded and the case histories collected (spanning a period of 4-9 months) further changes occurred. Only a total of 18 returnees and 12 non-returned migrants -- meaning those still in Cagayan in 1980-81 -- were interviewed. Some migrants' case histories were combined as in the case of three siblings and a mother and son. While only 30 case histories were being reconstructed from the tape recorded, in-depth and unstructured interviews, these refer to 35 cases. The interview guide is found in the Appendix.

### Respondents

For the household survey, the ideal respondent was the wife - who proved to be more competent in giving information about her household, especially in recalling events and dates. In a few instances, however, the household head was considered a good replacement. When both were not available, the next responsible adult member sufficed.

In the case histories interviews, the non-return migrant or the returnee (as the case may be) had to be the respondent. No surrogate respondent was interviewed except for verification purposes on some items concerning a household member.

### Interviewers

The household survey was conducted by five experienced interviewers of the then defunct Maternal Child Health Family Planning Project. Except one, all had participated

in demographic surveys of the MCH-FP and were, therefore, well familiar with the sample areas of the study. They were all females and living in the capital city of Tagbilaran. The investigator and the interviewers slept in areas where interviews were conducted that were far from Tagbilaran. A jeep was hired in the entire course of the survey.

## CHAPTER III

### A LOOK INTO THE HOUSEHOLDS OF ORIGIN: FINDINGS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

This chapter serves as a background discussion of the study. It explores four major topics in an attempt to understand the migrants' households of origin and, in turn, to help shed light to the migration behavior of the sample outmigrants. These topics are as follows: 1) socio-demographic characteristics of households of origin; 2) migration histories of household members; 3) decision making by the household relating to migration; and 4) impact of the outmigration upon the household as perceived by the respondent. At the end of the chapter, salient findings will be summarized.

To fully understand the forces that interact in motivating a person to outmigrate, the survey findings are aimed to complement the case histories. Together, they are effective in unraveling latent and interacting factors that surveys fail to uncover.

#### HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

##### Age and Sex Composition (Table 1)

The 590 household members are 51 percent males and 49 percent females. Compared with the Bohol Dual Record data for 1976, the age distributions by sex is reversed: there were 49 percent males and 51 percent females (Adem and Miller, 1978). In Figure 4, the differences across five-year age groups by sex between the present study and that of the Dual Record Study (DRS) are very pronounced. First, the base of the pyramid for DRS is broad whereas for the present study, is very narrow. Second, the structure of the pyramid for the present study shows a

clear contrast of distributions between the sexes and across age groups, giving the appearance of large chunks of the population being removed. The relative lack of children of ages 0-4 and 5-9 as well as males between ages 25-39 and females between 30-34 may be an indication of the lack of fertility. Being households of outmigration, they tend to be composed of older age people as is evident from the size of the 55 and above group which is overrepresented. The relative excess, on the other hand, of those in ages 15-19 and 20-24, the ages of net outmigration in Bohol as well as in the national level, is considered a temporary state owing to the temporary return of young adult migrants. It will be found from the migration histories later that migration is selective of this age group. The broad tip of the pyramid also suggests return migration by senior members of the sample population. It indicates high old age dependency upon the economically active members. This has important implications upon the outmigrants as well as the staying members.

#### Marital Status by Sex (Table 2)

Close to two-thirds of those studied are single and almost a third are currently married. To two-thirds of single males, there is a little over half single females. Among the currently married, males are slightly lower in numbers than females (by almost five percentage points).

#### Highest Grade Completed by Sex (Table 3)

Twenty percent of the sample population are under 10 years old (see Table 1) and those without formal schooling are correspondingly 20 percent, indicating that very few have not been to school. A little over half have attained elementary education while 17.0 percent have earned high school, and 10.0 percent, college diplomas.

FIGURE 4  
AGE-SEX PYRAMID: BOHOL CASE STUDY  
AND BOHOL DUAL RECORD STUDY (1976)

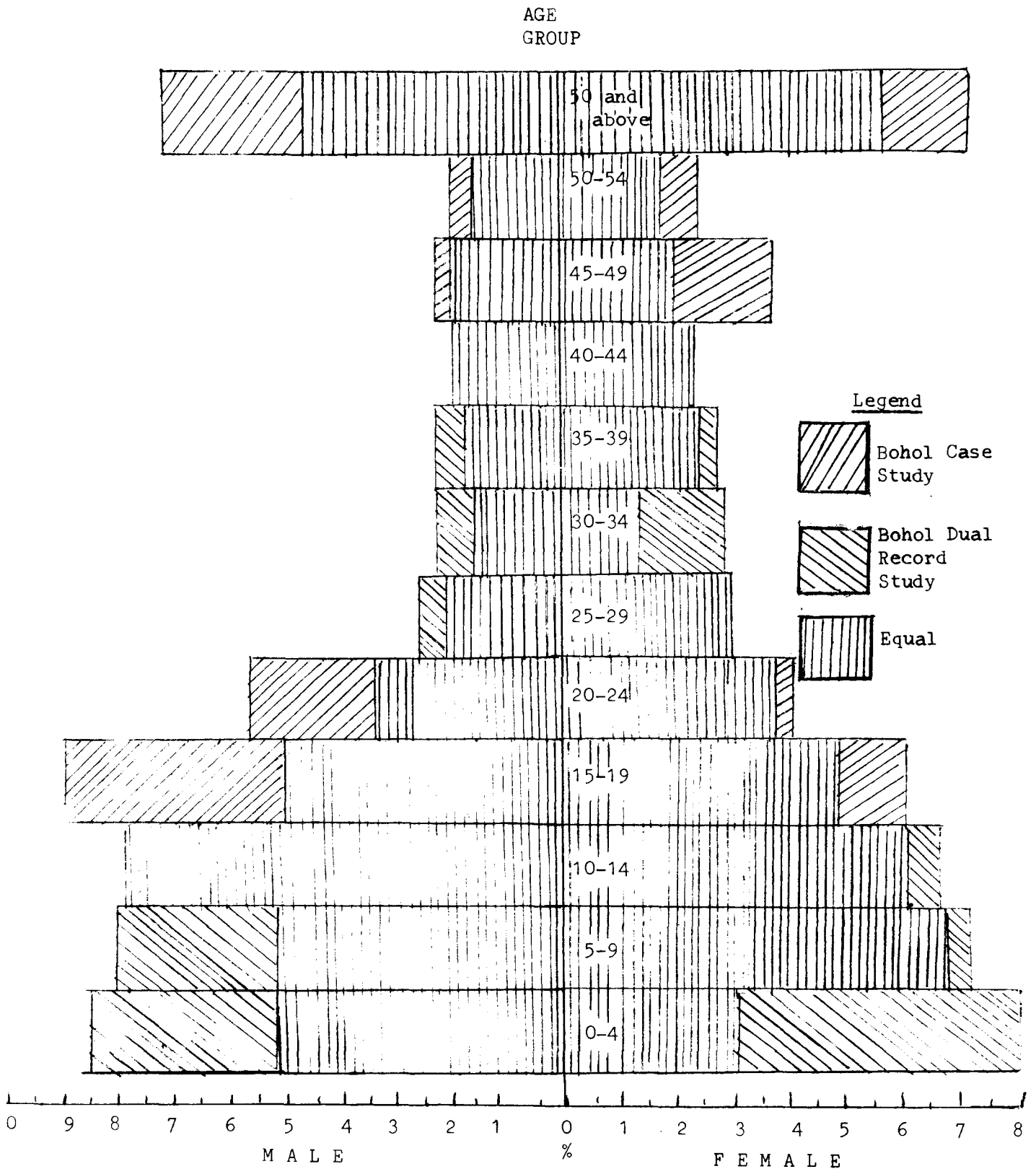


Table 1

Household Members by Age and Sex (Percent Distribution)

Age Group	Males	Females	Both Sexes
0 - 4	5.1	3.2	8.3
5 - 9	5.1	6.8	11.9
10 - 14	7.8	6.1	13.9
15 - 19	8.9	6.1	15.1
20 - 24	5.6	4.1	9.7
25 - 29	2.0	3.0	4.9
30 - 34	1.5	1.4	2.9
35 - 39	1.7	2.5	4.2
40 - 44	1.9	2.4	4.2
45 - 49	2.2	3.7	5.9
50 - 54	1.9	2.5	4.2
55 and above	7.1	7.3	14.7
All Ages	50.8 (300)	49.1 (290)	99.9 (590)

Table 2

Household Members by Sex and Marital Status (Percent Distribution)

Sex	Marital Status				Total <sup>a</sup>
	Never Married	Currently Married	Widowed	Separated	
Males	65.7	31.3	2.3	0.6	99.9
Females	57.6	35.9	6.6	0.0	100.1
Both Sexes	61.7 (364)	33.6 (198)	4.4 (26)	0.3 (2)	100.0 (590)

<sup>a</sup>Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 3

Household Members by Sex and Highest Grade Completed (Percent Distribution)

Highest Grade Completed	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
None	21.3	19.3	20.3
Grades 1-4	28.0	29.3	28.6
Grades 5-6	22.7	26.6	24.6
High School 1-2	11.3	7.6	9.5
High School 3-4	7.0	7.2	7.1
With some College	4.7	3.8	4.2
College graduate	5.0	5.9	5.4
No Response	0.0	0.3	0.2
All grades	100.0 (300)	100.0 (290)	99.9 (590)

Between the male and female population, grades completed do not greatly differ. Those who had completed Grades 1-4 and Grades 5-6 are the most predominant groups. As grade levels go up (i.e., from grades 1-4 through college), the proportions in each category tend to decrease.

#### Socioeconomic Status of Households (Table 4)

Socioeconomic indicators used are as follows: occupation of head of household, occupation of wife, highest grade completed by head, house and lot ownership, house materials, appliances owned, type of toilet owned and used, type of lighting facilities, and source of drinking water. These indicators are given weights which are as follows: 7, 6, 5, 3, 3, 3, 1, 1, and 1, given in the order the indicators proceed. Socioeconomic scores of 1, 2, 3 for lower, middle, and upper status are made separately for urban and rural locations of sample areas. The average weighted score of socioeconomic status of a household is equal to the

$$\left\{ \frac{(\text{indicator score}) \times (\text{weight})}{\text{sum of weights (which is a constant: 30)}} \right.$$

The resulting scores are grouped into three, representing the lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic status. In that order, the cut-off points are: 1) less than 1.74; 2) between 1.74 and 2.69; and 3) between 2.70 and 3.00. This methodology is patterned after Madigan's (Undated). (Refer to Appendix for more details on the methodology of socioeconomic status derivation.)

Table 4 shows that 50 percent of the households under study are of lower socioeconomic and nearly the remaining half (46%), of middle status.



Table 4

Socio Economic Status of Households and  
Their Equivalent Score Range (Percent  
Distribution)

Score Range	Economic Status	Per Cent
< 1.74	Lower	50.0
1.74 - 2.69	Middle	46.2
2.70 - 3.00	Upper	3.8
Total		100.0 (106)

MIGRATION HISTORIES OF SELECTED HOUSEHOLD  
MEMBERS

Migration Status of Household Heads and Wives (Table 5)

This first part of the section deals with the migration status of the household head and his wife, i.e., whether they are native born or have migrated to Bohol. The investigator believes that this information is an important influence on their offspring in regard to the latter's decision to migrate or not to migrate. As the Cariño and Cariño (1976) study has found, children of migrants grow up to repeat their parents' behavior. Table 5 shows that of the total heads and wives put together, only 13.2 percent are migrants to Bohol; migrant wives are slightly higher in number than migrant heads (15.6% versus 11.3%).

Age at Entrance to Bohol (Table 6)

Half of the heads migrated to Bohol at the young ages of 0-4 and 5-9. A little more than two-fifths came in at age 20-29. As for wives, over half came to Bohol at age 20-29; one-fifth, at age 10-19.

Reasons for Coming to Bohol (Table 7)

The household head's coming to Bohol as children suggests that they came with parents. The wives' migrating mostly at the marriageable ages of 20-29 indicate residence transfers due to marriage to a Boholano. Table 7 supports this hypothesis: 66.7 percent of heads migrated to Bohol owing to presence of relatives in Bohol and a few (8.3 percent) owing to marriage to a Boholana; the wives came only for two reasons: a little over half came for marriage to a Boholano and 42.9 percent due to presence of relatives in Bohol.

Table 5

Household Head and Wife by Whether Native of or Migrant to Bohol  
(Percent Distribution)

	Migration Status		Total
	Migrant	Native	
Head	11.3	88.7	100.0
Wife	15.6	84.4	100.0
Total	13.2 (26)	86.8 (170)	100.0 (196)

Table 6

Head and Wife by Age at Entrance to Bohol (Percent Distribution)

Age Group	Head	Wife	Total
0 - 4	33.3	7.1	19.2
5 - 9	16.7	7.1	11.5
10 - 19	0.0	21.4	11.5
20 - 29	41.7	57.1	50.0
30 and above	8.3	7.1	7.7
All Ages	100.0 (12)	99.8 <sup>a</sup> (14)	99.9 <sup>a</sup> (26)

<sup>a</sup> Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 7

Head and Wife by Reasons for Coming to Bohol (Percent Distribution)

Reasons	: Head	: Wife	: Total
Marriage to a Boholano	8.3	57.1	34.6
Presence of relative in Bohol	66.7	42.9	53.9
Availability of land	25.0	0.0	11.5
Ran away from home			
No response			
Total	100.0 (12)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (26)

Frequency of Outmigration Before and After Coming to Bohol  
(Table 8)

Bohol, like the region in which it is located, is a net outmigration area. Previous studies point to its agricultural economy, soil infertility, density and growth problems as underlying mechanisms (e.g. Go, 1979) responsible for this massive outmigration. If this was true, it was calculated that there would be more outmigrations by the heads and wives in Bohol than when they were still in their places of origin. This would be more so with heads who came into the Bohol sample households when they were very young (refer to Table 6).

To answer the above objective, the 26 immigrant Boholano heads and wives were asked the number of times they had outmigrated from the place they had originated since they were born. This recollection was then compared with the number of outmigrations recorded in the migration history section (including only outmigrations experienced while living in Bohol) of the questionnaire. Table 8 shows an increase of 16.6 percentage points of heads who had turned more migratory when already residing in Bohol. After coming to Bohol, fewer had never outmigrated (there were only 25.0% compared to 41.7% before), more had tried outmigration once or twice. There were lesser heads outmigrating three, four or more times, however. This latter finding probably refer to those who migrated to Bohol at ages 25 and above. As for the wives, who mostly came to Bohol to marry a Boholano, they became less mobile in Bohol - while there were only 35.7 percent nonmigrants at place of origin, there were 71.4 percent who never migrated after coming to Bohol; also, after coming to Bohol one-time outmigrants had decreased by over half (from 50.0% down to 21.4%). This is an understandable behavior in married women. However, this is at variance with the Cariño and Cariño statement that wives are

generally dependent movers who follow their independently moving husbands. With the high mobility of husbands and the stability of wives, it suggests that the latter remain at home while the husbands engage in short term employments or business. This will be supported in later discussions.

A clearer way of determining the changes in mobility frequency between the two points in time indicated in Table 8 is to count the number of migrations incurred by the heads and wives. The calculation is presented in Table 8-A. Each frequency category (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 4) is simply multiplied to the numbers of heads and wives outmigrating in that category. The resulting sum of products are the numbers compared here. The 12 heads had outmigrated 20 times before migrating to Bohol and only 16 times afterwards, decreasing by four migrations. On the average, a head had outmigrated 1.7 times before and only 1.3 times after coming to Bohol. The wives have exhibited a more settled behavior when already in Bohol than when in place of origin. They have migrated only 6 times as opposed to previous movements of 15 or an average of .43 and 1.1 times, respectively. When heads and wives are taken together, mobility has decreased by 17 outmigrations after coming to Bohol.

#### Migration Status of Other Household Members in Contrast to Heads and Wives (Table 9)

A section of the questionnaire was allotted to migration histories experienced in Bohol of selected household members. The heads and wives are considered as one. The other household members referred to in this analysis are those who, at survey time in June-July 1980, were 15 years old, single, and not attending school. Limiting migration histories on these groups of household members was due largely to the many questions asked pertaining to each

Table 8

## Frequency of Outmigration of Head and Wife Before and After Coming to Bohol (Percent Distribution)

	Before Coming to Bohol					After Coming to Bohol				
	: Never :	: Once :	: Twice :	: Thrice :	: Four x : : and more :	: Total ::	: Never :	: Once :	: Twice :	: Thrice : : and more :
Household Head	41.7	16.7	0.0	16.7	25.0	100.1	25.0	41.7	16.7	8.3
Wife	35.7	50.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	100.0	71.4	21.4	0.0	7.1
Total	38.4 (10)	34.6 (9)	0.0	7.7 (2)	19.2 (5)	100.0 (26)	50.0 (13)	30.8 (8)	7.7 (2)	3.8 (1)
										8.3
										0.0
										100.0
										(26)

<sup>a</sup> Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 8-A

Number of Outmigrations by Head and Wife Before and After Coming to Bohol

	Before coming to Bohol					After coming to Bohol				
	Frequency	Numbers who	Total	Outmigrat-	Frequency	Numbers who	Total	Outmigrat-	Frequency	Numbers who
	: Category	: Outmigrated	: tion Incurred	: Category	: Outmigrated	: Category	: Outmigrated	: Category	: Outmigrated	: Category
	(1)	(2)	(3 = 1x2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(3 = 1x2)
HEAD	Once	(1)	2	Once	(1)	5	Once	(1)	5	5
	Twice	(2)	0	Twice	(2)	2	Twice	(2)	2	4
	Thrice	(3)	2	Thrice	(3)	1	Thrice	(3)	1	3
	Four times	(4)	3	Four times	(4)	1	Four times	(4)	1	4
	Total	7	20	Total	9	9	Total	9	9	16
WIFE	Once	(1)	7	Once	(1)	3	Once	(1)	3	3
	Twice	(2)	0	Twice	(2)	0	Twice	(2)	0	0
	Thrice	(3)	0	Thrice	(3)	1	Thrice	(3)	1	3
	Four times	(4)	2	Four times	(4)	0	Four times	(4)	0	0
	Total	9	15	Total	4	4	Total	4	4	6
BOTH	Once	(1)	9	Once	(1)	8	Once	(1)	8	8
	Twice	(2)	0	Twice	(2)	2	Twice	(2)	2	4
	Thrice	(3)	2	Thrice	(3)	2	Thrice	(3)	2	6
	Four times	(4)	5	Four times	(4)	1	Four times	(4)	1	4
	Total	16	35	Total	13	13	Total	13	13	22



Table 9

Type of Household Members by Whether or Not Have Experienced Migration Out of Bohol (Percent Distribution)

Household Members	Migration Status*		
	Ever	Never	Total
	: Outmigrated	: Outmigrated	
Head**	70.8	29.2	100.0
Wife	35.6	63.4	100.0
Other Members	59.6	40.4	100.0
Total	56.4 (169)	43.6 (131)	100.0 (300)

\* Migration status while in Bohol. For those Bohol immigrant heads and wives, only their migrations while in Bohol are counted.

\*\* Head may be male or female.

migration of a member. Time constraints and, subsequently, costs were the major factors considered. But why choose those single 15 years and over who were not schooling? The reason is that these are the members who were likely to move out considering their freedom from involvement in school or in marriage.

More than half (56.4%) of the 300 eligible household members had outmigrated. Of the three groups, the household heads were the most migratory (70.8%), followed by other household members (59.6%); the wives, as in Table 8-8a, were the least migratory group. Household heads and single, non-schoolers are, of course, expected to be freer than the wives especially at the childbearing years and especially more so when their children are young. An agricultural province like Bohol is likely to have such type of women.

#### Frequency of Outmigration (Table 10)

The first question raised in the Migration History section of the questionnaire was the number of outmigrations from Bohol since birth or thereafter to survey date (June-July 1980). This information was later checked against the respondent's accounting of each migration history data.

Without distinguishing type of household member, i.e., whether head, wife, or other, Table 10 presents the distribution of migrants and their migrations by frequency of migration. The largest proportion--over half--have experienced one outmigration. Almost one-fourth have migrated out of Bohol twice and the remaining are thinly distributed across the frequency categories of 3-5+.

The number of migrations are much more meaningful to study than the number of migrants. The distributions are shown at the right panel of Table 10. An estimated total

Table 10

Distribution of Migrants and Their Migrations by Frequency of Outmigration (Percent Distribution)

Frequency of Outmigration (1)	: Number of : Outmigrants : % (2)	: Estimated No. of : Migrations** : % (3)
Once	56.8 (96)	33.0 (96)
Twice	24.3 (41)	28.2 (82)
Thrice	12.4 (21)	21.6 (63)
Four times	4.1 (7)	9.6 (28)
Five times	1.2 (2)	3.5 (10)
More than five times*	1.2 (2)	4.1 (12)
Total	100.0 (169)	100.0 (291)
Average number of outmigration per migrant:		1.7

\* Multiplicand used is 6 (a conservative estimate)

\*\* These figures were derived by 1) multiplying the frequency of migration categories in col. 1 with the col. 2 raw figures and then obtaining the percent distribution for each row for col. 3.

of 291 outmigrations\* have been experienced by the 169 ever-migrated household members. Each migrant experienced an average of 1.7 outmigrations. The distributions show that as the frequency category rises, the amount of outmigrations inversely falls; but the abrupt decline is found in the four times category after which migrations have become very sparse.

#### Age at First Outmigration (Table 11)

When do the sample outmigrants begin going out of the province? In what ways does age help explain mobility?

In the Philippines, Mendoza-Pascual has indicated that the highest level of migration tended to be in the age group 15-24 for males and 20-24 for females. The national average was in the 20-24 age group (Simmons et al., 1977: 54). This greater tendency for young people to migrate as compared with the rest of the population may be largely explained by the fact that most of these migrating young adults have neither established their own families yet nor made occupational commitments. In addition, it is believed that employment opportunities are higher for this age group. Other explanations are the "bright lights" theory in which the younger people are assumed to be eager for a taste of life; and dissatisfaction with the family work.

In Bohol, age selectivity has been found by different studies (Williamson, 1976; Go, 1979; Adem, 1978) to be in the age group 15-34. At this age group, there is a net outmigration for both males and females. The present study compares its first outmigration age profile. (Why age at first outmigration? To give the data the appearance as though it were a current rather than historical data). The

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\*This is only an estimate of a true number since this was derived by multiplying the numbers outmigrating to the frequencies of outmigration such as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 etc. in which those above 5 were given the value of 6, a very conservative estimate. It will be found out in a later table that the estimate of 291 outmigrations is not far from the true figure of 299.

Table 11

Distribution of Migrants by Age at First Outmigration (Percent)

Age at First Migration	Total Migrants
< 10 years old	1.8
10 - 14	14.2
15 - 19	31.9
20 - 24	20.1
25 - 29	8.3
30 - 34	8.9
35 - 39	3.6
40 - 44	4.7
45 - 49	4.1
50 and above	
No Response	2.4
All ages	100.0 (169)

ages at which about half of the first outmigrations occurred are 15-24. The peak age group of first outmigration is 15-19. It should also be noted that 16.0 percent had migrated for the first time at the earlier ages of less than 10 years to age 14.

Current Age of Migrant and Frequency of Outmigration  
(Table 12)

The extent of repeated moves or return migration will be analyzed here. It is expected that older migrants would have experienced more outmigrations than their younger counterparts, given that even at relatively older ages they make repeated moves. Table 12 reveals that those in the ages 50 and over have experienced the most number of outmigrations (110 moves by 59 migrants), and have experienced all types of outmigration frequency (i.e., once, twice, thrice, four times, five times and more). For other age groups, most have reached up to three outmigrations. When outmigration averages are computed (see col. 9) for each age group, the differentials are not clear for ages 20-24 through the older ages. When age 50 and over is compared with all other age groups, there is a difference of only 0.1 percentage point.

Length of Outmigration and Frequency (Table 13)

Are moves shorter for the many-time migrant and are longer for the one-time ones? The duration of a move may limit the frequency of one's movement. Longer duration moves naturally result in fewer movements while shorter ones might lead to several movements. A migration is defined as a three-month actual or intended absence or presence of a person and they are grouped in six-month intervals. The one-time migrants are expected to experience longer moves than the two-time or three-time migrants. The larger percentages in Table 13 are found to be within the 3-6 month, 7-12 month and 37 and above months durations.

Table 12

## Distribution of Migrants by Current Age and Frequency of Outmigration (Percent)

Age Group (1)	Frequency of Outmigration									
	Once :(2)	Twice :(3)	Thrice :(4)	Four :(5)	Five :(6)	% of Total Migrants :(7)	Estimated Out- migrants :(8)	Average Out- migrations :(9)		
15 - 19	17.7	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.2	21	1.1		
20 - 24	14.6	12.2	14.3	0.0	25.0	13.6	38	1.7		
25 - 29	7.3	9.8	4.8	28.6	0.0	8.3	26	1.9		
30 - 34	6.2	4.9	4.8	14.3	0.0	5.9	17	1.7		1.8
35 - 39	5.2	9.8	19.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	25	1.9		
40 - 44	9.4	9.8	9.5	0.0	0.0	8.9	23	1.5		
45 - 49	6.2	12.2	23.8	0.0	0.0	9.5	31	1.9		
50+	33.3	36.6	23.8	57.1	75.0	34.9	110	1.9		
All Ages	99.9 <sup>a</sup> (96)	100.2 <sup>a</sup> (41)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (169)	291	1.7		

<sup>a</sup> Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Notes: col. 8: The estimated total no. of outmigrations by age was obtained by multiplying the no. of cases within an age group by frequency of outmigration col. and adding the products from the five cols. Frequency of five and more in col. 6 is given the value of 6.

col. 9: Average migration no. per individual within an age group was obtained by dividing total no. of outmigrations in col. 8 by total no. of migrants within an age group.

Table 13

Distribution of Outmigrations by Length and Frequency (Percent)

Length of Outmigration	Frequency of Outmigration			Total
	Once	Twice	More than two times	
3 - 6 mos.	33.1	31.5	29.8	32.1
7 - 12 mos.	26.6	37.0	40.4	31.8
13 - 18 mos.	5.3	6.8	10.5	6.8
19 - 24 mos.	10.6	5.5	7.0	8.7
25 - 30 mos.	0.6	4.1	0.0	1.3
31 - 36 mos.	4.1	2.7	5.3	4.0
37 and above	19.5	12.3	7.0	15.3
Total	99.8 <sup>a</sup> (169)	99.9 <sup>a</sup> (73)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (299)

<sup>a</sup> Percentages do not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.



Therefore, it is not necessarily true that moves away from Bohol are longer for one-time migrants. In fact, 59.7 percent of them had been away for short durations of 3-6 months and 7-12 months.

Among the two-time outmigrants, the larger proportions are again concentrated in the first two shorter duration categories (68.5%) as well as in the longest (37 months and above) but the proportions are larger among this type of migrants than the one-time ones (68.5% and 59.7%, respectively). And, naturally, the longest duration category has declined from 19.5 percent to 12.3 percent as the move has increased from one to two.

The more-than-two-time outmigrants are largely concentrated in the first three short categories (80.7%). It means that the more frequent a migrant moves, the shorter these moves tend to be but the reverse does not hold true. One-time movers do not necessarily move away temporarily for longer duration than one year to less.

#### Favored Province of Destination (Table 14)

The second question asked in the migration history of each qualified resident household member was province of destination for each migration that he reported. The provinces are grouped into the three main groups of Philippine islands. The nearest of these is, of course, the Visayan provinces and the farthest is those of Luzon.

Seventy-five percent of the outmigrations were to the Mindanao provinces. Of the remaining, almost a fourth had outmigrated temporarily to the Visayas provinces. Luzon had received the smallest proportion of migrations.

Among the Mindanao provinces, Misamis Oriental and Davao have been the most frequent destinations, and Bukidnon the next. These three places have also been identified by Manuel (1975) as the favorite provinces of destination of Boholano migrants. Olivar (1976) cited Northern Mindanao to which Bukidnon and Misamis Oriental

Table 14

Distribution of Outmigrations by Province of Destination  
(Percent)

Province of Destination	No. of Migrations
A - Mindanao Provinces	74.9 (244)
Agusan	3.7
Davao	11.0
Cotabato	3.7
Davao	21.4
Lanao	4.0
Misamis Occidental	5.0
Misamis Oriental	22.1
Surigao	1.7
Zamboanga	2.3
B - Visayas Provinces	18.1 (54)
Cebu	8.4
Iloilo	1.3
Leyte	2.7
Negros	4.4
Samar	1.3
C - Luzon Provinces	6.7 (20)
Atangas	0.3
Bulacan	0.7
Manila	3.7
Mindoro	0.3
Palawan	1.0
Quezon ]	
Rizal ]	0.7
D - Foreign	
U.S.A.	0.3
Total	100.0 (299)

provinces belong as well as Southern Mindanao to which Davao is a part as the fourth and fifth regions, respectively, as the most preferred destination areas by migrants in the national as well as inter-regional levels. Davao is preferred for its plantation work; Bukidnon for its vast farming areas where land is still available and farm labor needed. Misamis Oriental is a source of a variety of work from labor in the pier or market to domestic services and jobs like tailoring, market vending or peddling, etc.

#### Important Reasons for Outmigration (Table 15)

From verbatim responses to this question, eight major reasons for outmigration have been identified. Table 15 shows that the major reason was seeking work (45.2%). The other causes of outmigration were found work (12.7%), to visit relatives (13.0%), brought to area of destination by relatives (11.7%) and to engage in business (11.7%).

The eight major reasons can further be grouped into two themes: kinship-related and work-related reasons. Reasons relating to work explain 70.0 percent of outmigrations whereas kinship, 26.0 percent. This finding agrees with the most often cited reason for migration in the Philippines - the economic.

#### Main Activity at Place of Destination (Table 16)

If the responses to reasons for outmigration are accurate, that it is largely for work related reasons, then the main activity at place of destination, that is, whether working or not should be consistent with the above finding. Table 16 appears to show that all outmigrants had worked for pay in place of destination.

It is clear from Table 16 that the main activities engaged in by outmigrants at place of destination are low status occupations. Grouped into ten main types of activities, domestic help appears to be the most predominant

Table 15

## Distribution of Outmigrations by Important Reasons (Percent)

Reasons for Outmigration	: % of Outmigrations
1) Found work	12.7
2) Seeking work	45.2
3) To engage in business	12.0
4) To visit relatives, vacation and adventure	13.0
5) Brought by cousins and other relatives	11.7
6) Marriage and join spouse	1.7
7) Studies	2.3
8) Other reasons	1.4
All reasons	100.0 (299)

Table 16

## Main Activity in Place of Destination and Timing of Outmigration (Percent Distribution)

Main Activity	Outmigration Timing			Total
	: First	: Second	: Third and; more	
1. Farming and agricultural-related activity	8.3	4.1	3.5	6.3
2. Labor in plantation, pier, road, market	14.8	20.5	19.3	17.1
3. Peddling, own business	14.2	23.3	15.8	16.7
4. Dressmaking, tailoring	4.1	1.4	0.0	2.7
5. Domestic helper such as household help, carenderia help, salesgirl, etc.	39.0	30.1	33.3	35.8
6. Fishing/shell gathering	3.0	5.5	10.5	5.0
7. Carpentry and related activity	1.2	2.7	14.1	4.0
8. Driving	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.0
9. Clerical work and student	7.1	6.8	0.0	5.7
10. Other work	6.5	5.5	3.5	5.7
Total	100.0 (169)	100.0 (73)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (299)

job. It has, however, decreased in the succeeding out-migrations while increases in labor, peddling, fishing and carpentry are evident. This might be attributed to the time of the year the outmigration was made. For instance, there are seasons when labor in plantation or farm work is heavier or scarcer than at other periods, hence the out-migrants' getting into other jobs. It cannot be said that outmigrants have located themselves in better jobs (from the domestic help to owning small business, for instance) the next time they moved because no attempt was made to match the migrants by their occupation from the first to the succeeding moves.

#### Important Reasons for Returning to Bohol (Table 17)

Just as there are important reasons for outmigration, so too are there important reasons for returning to household of origin in Bohol. "Important" here is used to indicate the major reason out of a multitude of others that has triggered return.

The important reasons for the return home was tabulated by type of outmigrant (according to frequency of migration) in order to find differences. But it appears that across type, the drawing power of relatives, home and social activities such as the fiesta explain most of the causes for returning to Bohol in all types (61.9%). It is also noticeable that there is evidence of contracting work before outmigration and expiration of these contracts or prearranged return are bases for return. Return caused by this reason explains 15.0 per cent of total homecomings.

#### Important Reasons for Last Return (Table 17-A)

Reasons for the last return was felt to be of heavier weight than the previous ones, hence, a separate tabulation was done on the last return. The last return of the Boholano migrants may not necessarily be the final one, especially if the returnee is young. Seven categories

Table 17

Important Reasons for Returning to Bohol by Type of Outmigrant (Percent Distribution)

Reasons for Returning	Type of Outmigrant			
	One-time	Two-time	Three-or-	Average
	Outmigrant	Outmigrant	more-time	
	Outmigrant	Outmigrant	outmigrant	
1. Unfavorable conditions in work, discontented with salary, peace and order problems	11.2	16.4	7.0	11.7
2. Contract of work expired, pre-arranged return after some months or work	14.8	11.0	22.8	15.4
3. Unable to go to school as planned prior to outmigration, will go back to school in Bohol	6.5	5.5	1.8	5.3
4. Summoned by relatives, presence of relatives in Bohol, marriage in Bohol	30.8	30.1	21.0	28.8
5. To relax, homesick, adventuring has been satisfied, attend fiesta	31.4	32.9	38.6	33.1
6. Other factors such as outbreak of war, referendum, etc.	5.3	4.1	8.8	5.7
Total	100.0 (169)	100.0 (73)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (299)

Table 17-A

## Important Reasons for Last Return to Bohol by Type of Outmigrant (Percent Distribution)

Reasons for Last Return	Type of Outmigrant			
	One-time Outmigrant	Two-time Outmigrant	Three-time Outmigrant	Average Outmigrant
A. Family in Bohol	53.1	58.6	52.4	54.6
1. Parents, family live in Bohol	15.6	12.2	23.8	9.1
2. Asked by parents to come home	16.7	12.2	4.8	0.0
3. Demise of parent, sibling, child, spouse	3.1	9.8	0.0	0.0
4. Marriage in Bohol	2.1	0.0	9.5	27.3
5. Rest from work/retire/visit that turned out a permanent stay	10.4	24.4	14.3	18.2
6. Accompanying/accompanied by relative	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
B. Employment business	17.7	12.2	23.8	27.3
1. Business stopped due to fire or decline in profits	6.2	4.9	9.5	18.2
2. Contract expired; terminated in work; have not found a good job; discontented with salary and employer	11.5	7.3	14.3	9.1
C. Education	7.3	7.3	4.8	0.0
1. To go back to school; not sent to school as promised	7.3	7.3	4.8	0.0
D. Peace and Order Problems	2.1	4.9	0.0	0.0
1. Peace and order problems; outbreak of WWII	2.1	4.9	0.0	0.0
E. Health and Psycho-emotional reasons (got sick, homesick)	10.4	17.1	9.5	0.0
F. Nature of migration short-term	9.3	0.0	0.0	18.2
1. Adventuring satisfied	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. Short personal business accomplished	2.1	0.0	0.0	9.1
3. Build a house out of savings	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
G. Other Reasons (includes no response)	4.1	0.0	9.5	91.1
Total <sup>a</sup>	99.9 (96)	100.1 (41)	100.0 (21)	101.1 (11) (169)

<sup>a</sup> Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

emerged out of the verbatim responses given. Over half of the reasons given was related to having the family in Bohol. Some articulated their reasons by directly referring to the parents and family of procreation being in Bohol. Some were asked by parents to come home; others returned because either they got married to a Boholano outside Bohol or went home to marry. Rest from work whether temporary or permanent as in the case of the retired, or pure intention to visit but which turned out to be a permanent return for some reasons are also other ways of verbalizing their reasons for coming home.

This finding is similar to that found by Chapman (1978) in that while the major reason for the outmigration was economic-related, the return is largely due to the kinship ties of the migrant at the place of origin. Chapman attributes the constant shuttling back and forth from area of origin to other areas to these conflicting forces that impinge upon the migrant.

The next most prevalent reason for return was cessation of business or loss of job (contract terminated) dissatisfaction with salary and employer or did not find a job (20.2%). Other reasons were education, health and psycho-emotional reasons and the nature of outmigration was really intended to be short term such as that of personal business, to stop work after having saved enough to build a house or after adventuring had turned boring.

#### DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN THE HOUSEHOLD RELATED TO MOVING

Whereas migration histories are important in our understanding of the mechanics of migration operating in the sample population, they do not provide decision making information in the household regarding migration. This section discusses the stayers' amount of freedom in making decision or lack of it in comparison to that of the outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro and other parts of Mindanao.



Whereas the stayers' decision making or lack of it is purely in the thinking level, that of the migrants to Cagayan de Oro had already been actualized. They compliment or reinforce each other in providing a picture of decision making made by future and current migrants from Bohol.

#### 1. The Case of Stayers

By staying member is meant one who has never experienced migration out of Bohol. He is usually the eldest child on list, not necessarily the eldest in the parity order sense (as the latter may have married and formed his own household or may have migrated), who is 15 years old or over, single, and not currently schooling. Heads and wives who never had outmigrated of Bohol are also included in this analysis.

#### Important Reasons for Staying in Province (Table 18)

If 56.4 percent of the eligible household members (that is, head, wife, single members 15 years and above not currently schooling) had experienced outmigration once, twice, three or four times, why had others preferred to stay in the province? The stayers were asked to cite the most important reason for their behavior. Six categories emerged from the verbatim responses. The most oft-cited reason is reflective of the children's perception of bearing the responsibility to take care of ageing parents - to provide them with company, domestic and farm services because the others had left home. A little over one-third of the stayers had expressed this sense of servitude to parents. The second most cited response was the stayers' being too young or sickly making them incapable to leave home, and others' being in school. These young or schooling stayers will probably migrate when the right time comes. Other reasons cited were in their descreasing order; 1) will feel homesick for parents and "land of birth" (11.7%); 2) have married and can't leave family

(10.8%); 3) already working in Bohol (10.0%); and 4) fear of bad luck and troubles in place of destination. These findings are different from what the Filipinas Foundation (1975) has found. The latter has found holding of a job in place of residence or the desire to be near the work place as well as to be near business opportunities as the major reason for staying (53.8%). These reasons may be reflective of respondents' urban location of residence.

#### The Encouraged Versus Unencouraged Child (Table 19)

The eldest child on list who is 15 years old or over and single and not currently studying is the subject of this analysis. Only 28 such children make up for the analysis. Each of them was asked (if present) or his parent proxy-reported whether eldest child on list has been encouraged to migrate by them. Twenty-seven or 96.4 percent were reported not to have been encouraged by parents to leave. This is consistent with the most predominant reasons given for staying in Table 18, that is, the children's providing parents with company, household help and farm help as well as children's being in school or too young. If parents exert pressure upon their children to take care of them or even if they do not but feel that children are eager to service them, they have no reason to encourage the remaining child to leave home. The same would be true for young and schooling children.

#### The Staying Eldest Child's Outmigration Plans (Table 20)

To check whether or not the staying eldest child ever had independent plans of leaving the province despite absence of encouragement from parents for the 27 out of 28 cases, the question was asked. Only about a third of them had plans of outmigrating anytime in the near future. Close to three-fifths did not have plans.

Table 18

Important Reasons for Staying: Household Members Single, 15 years and Above and Not Currently Schooling, and Head and Wife (Percent Distribution)

Reasons	Percent of Stayers
1. Provides company for parents; service parents at home and on farm	34.2
2. Still schooling, too young to migrate, sickly, retarded	19.2
3. Will feel homesick for parents and "land of birth"	11.7
4. Married and can't leave family	10.8
5. Working in Bohol	10.0
6. Afraid of ill luck and troubles away from Bohol	8.3
7. Other reasons	5.8
All Reasons	100.0

Table 19

The Staying Eldest Child by Whether or Not Encouraged by Any Household Member to Migrate (Percent Distribution)

	%
Encouraged	3.6
Not Encouraged	96.4
Total	100.0 (28)

Table 20

Does Eldest Child Have Plans to Outmigrate (Percent Distribution) ?

	%
Yes	32.1
No	60.7
No Response	7.2
Total	100.0

The Planned Area of Destination and Reasons for Choice  
(Table 21)

Before any decision to move is reached, the prospective migrant already possesses a perception of alternative places of destination and a subsequent evaluation of the relative advantages and opportunities to be obtained there (Zosa-Feranil and Perez, 1979).

Those who had expressed desire to outmigrate in the near future were asked to which places they would likely go and why. All of them were able to point to particular places. Four places are in Mindanao Island, namely, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, and Misamis Oriental. Manila and the U.S. were also mentioned as future areas of destination. Reasons for choosing these places are presence of relatives and friends (5 of 9 cases) and to work or find work there (3 cases). One respondent expressed desire to live there, referring to the United States.

It may be recalled that the favored Mindanao provinces of destination of migratory household members were Davao, Misamis Oriental, and Bukidnon. The staying--usually young--household members may have been influenced in their choice by the migratory members. It seems likely that the formation of a prospective migrant's perception of alternative places of destination occur within and are influenced by the household.

Whether or not respondents have visited areas cited for  
future migration before and Planned Activity There  
(Table 22)

Of the places mentioned as future areas of destination, only three have been visited by the respondents before. These are Misamis Oriental, Davao, and Bukidnon. The planned activity of the children not encouraged to migrate in future areas of destination, regardless of whether they have visited the place before or not, is largely to work there.

In the Zosa-Feranil and Perez study of place perception

Table 1

## Planned Area of Destination and Reasons for Choice

Planned Area of Destination	Reason for Choice			
	Presence : of Relatives :	Presence of : friends : work there :	To work or find : : there :	To live : Total : there :
Bukidnon	1		1	2
Cotabato	1			1
Davao		1	1	2
Misamis Oriental		1	1	2
Manila		1		1
U.S.A.				1
All Places	2	3	3	9

in Bohol, more than half of the respondents were found to have visited the places they cited as most familiar to them but these places were usually nearby poblaciones rather than places far away that require a night's boat trip to get there.

The Stayers' Perception of Pull Factors of Chosen Future Area of Destination and Push Factors of Community of Origin (Table 23)

How does the staying eldest child on list who is single, 15 years old or more and not currently studying perceive the pull factors of his chosen future area of destination and push factors of the community he comes from?

The verbatim responses enumerated in Table 23 are somewhat repetitive in theme but the idea is to present how they were verbalized (in translated form) by the respondents. The push factors opposite each pull factor is the pair statement of the latter. From these responses, it can be summarized that the future area of destination is perceived to be a good place for working considering the presence of working relatives and friends, and higher salaries, good training and job availability there. The push factors are lack of work and low salaries. Whereas work might be cited the most obvious objective for planning to migrate, this could have been impossible without friends and relatives' expressing promise of any form of assistance. In fact, some mentioned that their siblings invited them to go there. Also in one case, a father influenced his son to join him in the U.S.

The Respondents' Perception of Pull Factors of a Place and Push Factors of Community of Origin (Table 24)

Each respondent was presented with a hypothetical statement which was followed by a question eliciting his perception of push-pull factors of a place. For pull factors, the hypothetical statement was: "Some persons desire to transfer residence to another province for various reasons. In your case, what factors would attract

Table 22

Has Future Area of Destination Been Visited and Planned Activity There?

Planned Area of Destination	Visited Area?		Planned Activity There
	Yes	No	
Bukidnon	1	1	To work there(2)
Cotabato	0	1	To live there and help his brother in business (1)
Davao	1	1	{To work there To work in a hospital
Misamis Oriental	1	1	To work in a hospital To be a dressmaker there
Manila	0	1	To work there
U.S.A.	0	1	To study there
All Places	3	6	

Table 23

The Stayers' Perceived Pull Factors of Chosen Destination Area and Push Factors of Community of Origin

Attraction or Pull Factors of Chosen Area of Destination	Push Factors of Community of Origin
1. Plenty of relatives working there	lack of work here, will work there
2. Easy to find work there	difficult to raise money here
3. Plenty of friends working there	Low salaries here
4. Good or high salaries there and good training for employees	poor training, low salaries
5. Will finish tailoring training there	older sibling will provide training there without pay
6. Invited by sibling to go there	Not in school here, hence, life is boring
7. Sibling working there	No available work here
1. Obligated by father to go to U.S.	No response
1. No Response	Has not found work here

you to move into a particular place?" To give the interviewer an idea of what answers to expect, categories were provided in the questionnaire but these were not mentioned to the respondent. Also, the verbatim response was recorded on the line opposite the category she best thinks is appropriate to provide for immediate spotting of inconsistencies and, more importantly, to make sure the interviewer really asked for the respondent's ideas rather than merely presenting the categories made available to her in the questionnaire. If the respondents gave more than one answer to the question, they were asked to rank them according to perceived importance. Responses analyzed here are those they considered the most important. These are further ranked in Table 24 according to the prevalence with which they were mentioned.

The first three most popular factors cited by the 106 respondents were economic considerations in four areas: employment, farming and fishing, and business. Almost one-third considered abundance of job opportunities, one-fifth wanted abundance of fish and presence of fertile land, and the 15.1 percent business-minded respondents wished for good business. The remaining four factors cited by 34.0 percent of the respondents were peacefulness of the place (14.2%), presence of friends and relatives (9.4%), abundance of food and good lighting, water and transport facilities (8.5%), and good climate (1.9%). The priority of choices by the respondents from the most practical -- the economic factor -- to the psycho-social-religious (presence of friends and relatives, peacefulness and nearness to church) as well as convenience (in terms of good facilities and good climate) is a reflection of the maturity of the respondents. In contrast, it may be recalled that (in Table 23) the young stayers' responses to the same question disclosed the presence of relatives (especially siblings) as the medium through which work opportunities are known to them and, hence, influence their decision to migrate.



All push factors identified in the community of origin have an economic theme. Bohol is perceived as not good for business, lacking in factories and slow in economic progress by a little over one-third of the respondents. A fourth have referred generally to the lack of earning opportunities. The remaining 38.7 percent have, however, specified the unfavorable economic situation in Bohol in terms of fertile land being very scarce, fishing as source of income being no longer dependable, and prevailing low salaries.

Does Respondent Encourage Any Household Member to Migrate?  
Table 25)

It may be recalled that respondents are either the household heads or the wife (and rarely other household members are resorted to). In this connection, they were asked, being the authority of the household, whether they encourage household members to migrate based upon their perceptions of pull factors of a place. For example, if they consider pull factors such as abundance of job opportunities or suitability of place for business or presence of relatives, will they encourage any household member to migrate there; or have they tried encouraging any household member to go there? Table 25 reveals that 64.2 percent do not. It means they haven't encouraged and will not encourage outmigration of household members. This is consistent with the figure of 91.0 percent given for Cagayan de Oro migrants who were not encouraged by the household to move out (in a coming table). Similarly, 96.4 percent of the staying children were not encouraged to migrate.

Reasons Given for Encouragement (Table 26)

The reasons given do not give evidence that the encouragement was for the purpose of improving the status of household of origin. It is more for the benefit of the member encouraged. For instance, the largest proportion

of respondents want their children and others to find a better life in preparation for the future and to let them experience life's problems (as they work away and live independently) in order that they transform to lead a life of responsibility (47.4%). Reference to good employment opportunities coupled with good salaries, as well as abundance of (farm) land in Mindanao (they were not asked to identify places) was made by a third of the respondents.

#### Reasons Given for Non-encouragement (Table 26)

There were good reasons for the respondents' not encouraging household members to migrate. These vary from the respondents' own selfish reasons like "I want us to be together", (22.0%) "No one will help me in the farm", (4.4%) to their fear that they will be blamed for whatever consequences their children will encounter in destination area (35.3%). Others do not encourage their children out of respect for their children's decision, e.g. parents feel that the children should decide where they want to live and some recognize that their children like Bohol, they even hold jobs there (20.6%). There are also respondents who, in the future, might encourage their children to migrate because they say that the children are still young or are schooling in Bohol at present, and thus they are not encouraged to leave (11.8%).

#### 2. The Case of the Outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro and Other Mindanao Areas

##### Was Outmigrant Encouraged by Any Household Member to Outmigrate? (Table 27)

Respondents were asked whether the migrant to Mindanao was encouraged by any household member to outmigrate. Answers are 91.0 percent no and 9.0 percent yes. In other words, they were not influenced by the household's

Table 24

Respondents' Perception of Pull Factors of a Place and Push Factors of  
Community of Origin (Percent Distribution)

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A. Ranked Pull Factors

1. Abundance of job opportunities	28.3
2. Presence of fertile land, abundance of fish	22.6
3. Where business is good	15.1
4. Peacefulness of the place	14.2
5. Presence of friends and relatives	9.4
6. Abundance of food, good water, lighting and transport facilities, near church	8.5
7. Good climate	1.9
All Factors	100.0 (106)

B. Ranked Push Factors of Place of Origin

1. Not good for business, lack of factories, slow economic progress here	35.8
2. Lack of earning opportunities	25.5
3. Little land to till/land infertile, hence, farming not so good here	18.9
4. Low salaries	10.4
5. Not good for fishing anymore	9.4
All Factors	100.0 (106)

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Table 25

Does Respondent Encourage any Household Member to Migrate  
(Percent Distribution) ?

Response	%
Yes	35.8
No	64.2
Both	100.0 (106)

Table 26

Reasons for Encouragement or Non-Encouragement (Percent Distribution)

A. Reasons for Encouraging	%
1. To let them find better life in preparation for the future	38.5
2. To make them experience life's problems and transform to life of responsibility	7.9
3. Good employment opportunities, good salaries, good land there (referring to Mindanao)	34.2
4. Presence of relatives in Mindanao	7.9
5. Other reasons	10.5
All Reasons	100.0 (38)
B. Reasons for not Encouraging	
1. Don't want to be blamed for consequences in destination	35.3
2. They decide where they want to live	14.7
3. I want us to be together	22.0
4. If I send them away no one will help in the farm	4.4
5. They like it here, they're working here	5.9
6. My children are still young/going to school	11.8
7. I am contented with life here	5.9
All Reasons	100.0 (68)

encouragement but rather made their own decision.

Whose Decision Prevailed in Permitting Migrant to Migrate?  
(Table 28)

It was hypothesized that a migrant's decision to migrate is not an independent decision but rather sanctioned by the household as a whole. Results show that some 41.4 percent made independent decisions; almost one-fourth were decisions sanctioned together by the head and wife. A few cases received the blessings of the head alone (11.3%), the wife alone (4.5%) and the whole household (1.5%). In the case of 3.8% of the respondents, permission was elicited from others who were not immediate family members such as nephews, cousins, helpers, etc.

Was the Unencouraged (by Household Members) Outmigrant Encouraged by Anyone Outside the Household? (Table 29)

This information is important in that outside encouragement or even cajoling may be an influence in one's decision to actualize migration. Table 29 shows that about half did receive encouragement from outside the household. Those who did not receive any encouragement either from immediate members of the household or from outside such as from friends and relatives external to the household make up 46.0 percent of total migrants to Mindanao. This is an indication that, on the whole, the number of encouraged (regardless of whether by household or outside) and unencouraged migrants are about even.

Perceived Reasons for Outmigration (Table 30)

Respondents were asked what they thought were the reasons for the household member's outmigration to Cagayan de Oro and other Mindanao areas. They mostly attributed it to seeking work (54.1%), found work (13.5%), or merely visiting place and relatives (15.0%). The remaining 17.3 percent were said to be studying (4.5%), accompanying parents

Table 27

Was Outmigrant to Cagayan de Oro and Other Mindanao Areas Encouraged to Migrate by Any Household Member (Percent Distribution) ?

Encouraged?	%
Yes	9.0
No	91.0
Both	100.0 (133)

Table 28

Whose Decision Prevailed in Permitting Migrant to go to Cagayan de Oro and Other Mindanao Areas (Percent Distribution) ?

Whose Decision Prevailed?	%
Head's	11.3
Wife's	4.5
Head and wife's	18.0
That of Migrant	41.4
Households	1.5
Other	3.8
No Response	19.5
Total	100.0 (133)

Table 29

The Unencouraged Outmigrant: Was He Encouraged by Anyone from Outside the Household (Percent Distribution)?

Encouraged?	%
Yes	49.6
No	50.4
Both	100.0 (121)

Table 30

Relationship of Respondent to Household Head and of Migrant to Household Head (Percent Distribution)

Relationship of Respondent to Household Head	%
Household Head	43.4
Wife	44.3
Son/daughter	6.6
Other	5.7
Total	100.0 (106)
Relationship of Migrant to Household Head	%
Head	7.5
Son/daughter	70.7
Brother/sister	3.0
Father/mother	1.5
Cousin	0.0
Other Relations	14.3
Non-Relation	3.0
All	100.0 (133)

and children (4.5%), and driven away (4.5%) while the rest left for other reasons. These responses are no different from previous studies also conducted in the same sample areas (MCH-FP studies) nor from the usual reasons given in earlier surveys in many part of the Philippines.

#### THE IMPACT OF OUTMIGRATION UPON THE HOUSEHOLD OF ORIGIN

##### Who Are the Respondents? (Table 31)

The survey interviewers were instructed and supervised to interview only the lady of the house or the household head; in rare cases, other resident household members were resorted to in the absence of both the former. Responses to the impact questions were useful only where respondents were immediate family members; non-related (by blood) persons could not feel the impact of the outmigration of a person upon his household of origin. The relationship of the out-migrant was directed to the household head. They were mostly sons and daughters (70.7%), or the heads themselves (7.5%) or siblings (3.0%) and parents (1.5%). (See Table 31). The impact of the migrants upon their households of origin was reported by 87.7 percent heads and wives and 6.6 percent children of heads.

##### Perceived Impact of Outmigration Upon Household of Origin (Table 32)

The questionnaire provided prepared categories for the question on impact. However, these were not volunteered to the respondent but rather were checked according to the given response. Only in very rare instances were these mentioned and this happened only when respondents had the questions explained to them twice, reworded if possible, but still could not provide an answer.

There are six impact categories corresponding to the respondents' perception of the effect of outmigration upon



Table 31

Perceived Reasons for Outmigration of Household Members  
Heading for Cagayan de Oro and Other Mindanao Areas  
(Percent Distribution)

Reasons	%
Seeking work	54.1
Found work	13.5
Visiting place and relatives	15.0
To study	4.5
Driven away	4.5
Accompanied parents and children	4.5
Other reasons	3.8
All reasons	99.9 <sup>a</sup> (133)

<sup>a</sup>Percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

the household of origin. These are presented in Table 32. It will be observed that below the major categories presented in the table are listed the specific instances in which there had been a positive or negative impact. The distributions are no longer presented for these sub-categories.

Impact upon the economic or material possessions are in the form of increased income, purchase of farm lots or repossession of leased land, purchase of clothing for the staying members as well as for the migrant, lesser household expenses in the absence of the migrant, and in the form of harvesting crops that the outmigrant had planted before he left. These constitute the positive impact. It is worthy of notice that parents of migrants (who are the majority of the respondents) have cited complaints resulting from a child's outmigration. For instance, some claimed that they lost an income earner or received less monetary contributions from the outmigrant. The economic impact of outmigration receives the highest proportion of 36.8 percent.

Household members' outmigration can either cause problems or relief of an emotional-psychological nature. When the outmigrant is young, parents tend to worry over his welfare especially on his first outmigration. His presence is missed by them. On the other hand, a trouble-maker's outmigration is a source of relief to parents. Specific instances in which the emotional-psychological impact have operated were mentioned in 23.3 percent of total households under study.

Education is one big source of pride especially among rural residents. It increases their social status. Hence, some young Boholanos outmigrate to pursue their education in the place of destination or stop for a year or more to save for the next year's schooling. It is also not uncommon for older siblings to support the younger ones to achieve higher education regardless of whether they themselves had already acquired that much education. The impact of a member's outmigration upon the education-social status of the household is both positive and negative. While some

Table 32

Perceived Impact of Outmigration Upon Household of Origin  
(Percent Distribution)

Impact Categories	%
1. Economic or Material	36.8
1) Increased income	
2) OM helped buy or retrieve leased farm lot	
3) OM bought clothing, radio, chinaware, etc.	
4) lesser household expenses due to his absence	
5) they harvested crops OM had planted prior to departure	
6) loss of income-earner	
7) lesser monetary contribution to household after departure	
2. Emotional - Psychological	23.3
1) staying household members worried over OM's welfare	
2) missing OM's company and presence	
3) outmigration a relief to staying members because OM was source of headache (troublemaker)	
3. Educational - Social	6.8
1) OM has sent siblings to school	
2) OM's studies temporarily stopped	
3) OM has earned higher education	
4. Farm Labor and House Help	21.8
1) loss of farm hand and house help	
5. Migratory behavior of other HH members	7.5
1) easier to cross over to Cagayan and other places in Mindanao	
2) triggered migration of other members of HH	
6. Space at Home	3.8
1) there is more space in the house now, especially sleeping quarters	
All Categories	100.0 (133)

outmigrants have sent siblings to school or have earned higher education, some have temporarily stopped their studies. There were 6.8 percent of the households that mentioned the educational and social impact of outmigration.

Reflecting the agricultural economy of the sample households under study, 21.8 percent of the respondents mentioned that farm labor and house help have been affected by the member's outmigration.

The migration of a household member has influenced the behavior of those remaining. A little more than seven percent reported that now it is easier for them to cross over to Cagayan de Oro and other places in Mindanao, thereby triggering yet other members to also decide to migrate.

Space at home, in the absence of the outmigrant, has improved, reported 3.8 percent of the respondents. There is more space now especially in the sleeping quarters.

#### Summarized impact perceptions (Table 33).

After the respondent has ranked his answers on the impact questions from one to three (according to importance), he was asked to summarize his assessment into either of three categories: has the outmigration effected more of favorable or good changes in the household or has it effected more unbeneficial changes or about even? Responses show that 45.6 percent thought that they benefitted from the outmigration and almost 30 percent decided the outmigration has been a loss to the household rather than a gain. The remaining 25.5 percent claimed that it was about even, i.e., while they gained perhaps in monetary matters as well as in social status, they have lost farm hands or household help.

#### Supporting reasons for the assessment of impact.

Respondents were asked why they said the outmigration was beneficial, not beneficial or about even. The purpose of this analysis is to enumerate the cited verbatim reasons and not to show the distributions. When answers were common

to several respondents, only the theme will be cited to avoid repetitions.

- A. The household has mostly gained from outmigration of a household member. Why?
  1. It is a great honor that the outmigrant is an honor student.
  2. Because the outmigrant has relieved us from headache and worry; there has been no more quarrels and troubles after he left (referring to an adult single son).
  3. He will be able to reap something good (not specified); here, he was kept idle and without promise.
  4. Because outmigrant has helped to send siblings to school.
  5. We were very happy about the money he sent for the repair of our house.
  6. Because he is able to remit cash, however little.
  7. I am no longer bothered by his financial needs, hence, I can now concentrate on my small business.
  8. I no longer buy him clothes.
  9. It is better that they have left, we now have peace (referring to non-immediate relatives).
  10. Here, he could not find a well-paying job, there, he can.
  11. Because we can now pay our debts, we can eat better food and buy clothes.
  12. We were able to buy a television set because of him.

These statements are reflective of how much value respondents place upon the help (material or otherwise) given by their outmigrant household member. They also divulge the concrete instances of help given. Sometimes, the mere fact that the migrant has achieved some amount of financial independence, is already a great source of relief for parents. It can mean putting their resources to new areas of interest such as small business they might not have

ventured into before.

B. Outmigration of the household member has mostly been a loss to the household. Reasons given:

1. God forbids, the outmigrant might find ill luck, or meet with an accident there. He will still be my responsibility.
2. Because we are lonely for them.
3. I am worried that she might get married to a jobless person. She will have great difficulty in married life.
4. We lost a farm and house help
5. We are worried because we have no idea about his real situation there.
6. She is a woman, I am worried about her.
7. We miss him. I would rather that we do not have money as long as we stay together; we can survive even if he remains here.

C. The impact of the outmigration is about even - we neither feel we neither gained nor lost. Why?

1. Because even if he is away, we have a substitute for him to do the work he used to do here.
2. He can no longer help with the household chores but he can help earn money. He now has met his clothing needs. If he were here, he can help in the house but he will not have good clothes.
3. I may have lost a farm hand, I could do the farm work all by myself.
4. Because while here, he does not have regular farm or house tasks to do since he does what he pleases.
5. Because even if he were here we can still eat in the same manner as in his absence. In other words, his absence or presence does not make any difference.

Whereas some households feel that the outmigration of their children and other members has made a negative impact because of imagined worries or loss of help in the farm caused by such absence, some think in terms of the migrant's having substituted for his previous responsibilities such as personal services in the house and farm with monetary gain. The latter respondents have been able to find something good about their member's absence despite the emotional costs it incurred upon them. A respondent's not feeling or being able to extract any impact from a member's outmigration may reflect the member's inability to remit any form of benefit to his household of origin; or he may have made little impact upon the household (e.g. in terms of personal services in the house and on farm or in terms of affection, etc.) while he was still around. Replacements have been found or doubling up of time in performing farm work, for instance, have been the coping mechanisms of the household.

Does Outmigrant Remit Money? (Table 34)

One important positive impact placed upon or expected from a member's outmigration is remittance of money to the household of origin. Table 34 shows that only a little over one-third of the outmigrants have sent money home. The largest proportion (61.7%) of the remaining two-thirds have not remitted cash to the staying household. Whether or not money is sent regularly has not been measured in this study but it is probably not important for the households of origin. Even if remittance of money is done by a few outmigrants, remittance of goods is evident in Table 32. The fact that the remitted money or any economic goods is appreciated as expressed in Table 32 is probably enough for the staying household. One's subjective perception in this regard is far more important than researchers' tendency to see things objectively and yet fail to discern the values, priorities, etc. underneath.

Table 33

Summarized Assessment of Impact of Outmigration Upon Household of Origin (Percent Distribution)

Impact Categories	%
Mostly gained from it	45.9
Mostly lost	28.6
About even	25.5
Total	100.0 (133)

Table 34

Does Outmigrant Remit Money Home (Percent Distribution)?

:	%
Yes	35.3
No	61.7
N.A.	3.0
Total	100.0 (133)



## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

### Household Composition

The distinct differences of the age-sex distributions between the population of outmigration households under study and the larger population from which the former was drawn depict the fact that outmigration households are depleted of the younger members in the working ages and are, consequently, composed older members. (This is because migration in the Philippines is selective of the young and the educated). The relative lack of males 25-39 years old and females 30-34 add support to previous studies' Findings that the age-sex selectivity of Boholano migrants are within these ages. This observation and the relative lack of children in the ages 0-4 and 5-9 as well as the over-represented age group of 55 and above are evidence of the old population composition of the households under study. Household heads (70%) are concentrated in the ages 45 to 74 and above, their mean age being 52.5 years. The wives are similarly old, having a mean age of 47.7 (see Table 35 following). At these ages, children are likely to have married and set up their own households or have migrated leaving one or two siblings to look after their parents. The major reason cited for staying was related to taking care of, keeping company to, or servicing parents in the household and the farm.

Close to two-thirds of the sample population were single; a little over half had attained or completed elementary education while more than a fourth had achieved or finished high school and college. The socioeconomic status of nearly 50% of the households are nearly middle class and 50.0 percent lower class. On the whole, the households of origin or of outmigration are not really a disadvantaged group.

Table 35

Age Distribution of Household Heads and Wives (Percent)

Age Group	Household Heads	Wives
25-29	5.7	10.5
30-34	3.8	7.0
35-39	7.5	8.1
40-44	12.3	10.5
45-49	15.1	20.9
50-54	13.2	16.3
55-59	10.4	9.3
60-64	9.4	11.6
65-69	13.2	5.8
70-74 and above	9.4	0.0
All Ages	100.0	100.0
Mean Age	52.5	47.7

Close to two-thirds of the sample population were single; a little over half had attained or completed elementary education while more than a fourth had achieved or finished high school and college. The socioeconomic status of nearly 50% of the households are nearly middle class and 50.0 percent lower class. On the whole, the households of origin or of outmigration are not really a disadvantaged group.

Migration Patterns

Several patterns have emerged from the survey results of this study.

1. The household heads and wives are mostly natives of Bohol but those who were immigrants came with immigrant parents or came through marriage to a Boholano.

2. Repeated moves or shuttling movements are evident in 67 percent of those whose migration histories were obtained. One-third had tried outmigration once. The rest had outmigrated as much as more than five times.
3. Those in the age group 50 and above had the highest number of outmigrations and had tried all of the migration frequencies of once through more-than-five times. The more frequent the moves, the shorter was the duration but the reverse did not hold true.
4. The age-selectivity found in the national level and the Bohol studies previously conducted is also true for the present study. Household members tend to outmigrate at the age group of 15-34, ages 15-24 being the net outmigration ages.
5. The favorite destination areas for all the shuttling movements were Misamis Oriental, Davao, and Bukidnon. These were the same provinces stayers are planning to move out to. They had already visited these places. These same provinces were identified by Manuel and Olivar as the most preferred destination provinces by Boholano, regional or national migrants.
6. Important reasons for the frequent outmigration were largely work-related (69.6%). These were articulated as seeking work (45.2%), found work (12.7%) and conducting business (11.7%). The same pattern was visible when moves referred to were those of outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro and other Mindanao areas. Perceptions of pull and push factors by respondents as well as stayers were also on economic considerations: employment, farming, fishing, and business in place of origin. The community of origin is described as being slow in progress, lacking in work opportunities, and low in

wages. Presence of relatives, however, are also cited, especially for stayers.

7. While important reasons subjectively identified were work-related, important reasons for return home were largely due to the drawing power of the home and family. Large numbers were summoned to come home, wanted to take a rest or were homesick. The pattern of pre-arranged employments is evident. The drawing power of the home and family is also manifested in the reasons given for respondents' staying home. The sense of servitude towards parents was articulated by most staying household members. The shuttling movements that are triggered by economic pursuits and the attraction of going back to the home are summarized in Chapman's terminology of the phenomenon as centrifugal-centripetal forces that are in constant conflict.
8. As to decision making patterns involved in migration, the survey has not been able to fathom the real processes at work. Results from the case histories to be discussed in the next chapter show that the parents are the important figures that say no or yes to the child's outmigration. This is evident in pre-arranged employments of children. Parents do not allow children to go away with strangers or to let children leave when they are not sure for whom the child works.

This study's survey results on the topic of migration decision making are an artifact of the respondents' defensive and rationalized statements. This is because the respondents were mostly parents. They are, probably, unlikely to divulge their control over their children.

Eliciting the reasons for staying by the children is an indirect way of knowing whether it is the

children who personally choose to remain in their homes or are influenced -- to put it mildly -- by the authority figures in the home. Results show that a third of them were reported to provide company for aging parents (do housework and farm-work). Whether or not it was their own desire to remain home was not probed.

As for other ways of decision making, about a third of those who were said to be not encouraged to migrate expressed plans to leave for Misamis Oriental, Bukidnon, Davao and Cotabato where many of their working relatives, including siblings, and friends were. Of these places, only Cotabato has not been visited by them before.

Most respondents (64.2%) reported that they do not encourage household members to migrate: stayers were 96.4 percent unencouraged while migrants to Cagayan de Oro were 91.0 percent unencouraged.

Close to fifty percent of the migrants had made independent decisions. Reasons expressed for non-encouragement were largely for fear that they will be blamed for whatever consequences the migration might have on the child, for wanting to be physically close to the children and because the children were already holding jobs. Those who said they encouraged their children to move out (not referring to a particular child like the stayer or the migrant) did so because they want their children and others "to find a better life in preparation for the future and to let them experience life's problems in order that they would adopt a life of responsibility". Reference to good employment opportunities coupled with good salaries, as well as abundance of land in Mindanao was a more specific articulation by one-third of respondents.

9. The consequences of the outmigration of household members to Cagayan de Oro and other Mindanao areas upon the households were 36.8 percent economic-related; 23.3 percent were of an emotional-psychological nature; 21.8 percent lost labor and farm hand; 6.8 percent cited education-related impact and a little over seven percent cited outmigration as influencing the behavior of those remaining. In themselves these categories do not provide much information. It was the ways in which they were verbalized that were a revelation. For instance, in the economic sphere, the outmigrants had increased the household income, had purchased farm lots or repossessed leased land, had bought good clothes for themselves and for other household members. They had also helped in reducing household expenses. On the other hand, some outmigrants had sent little thus lessening household income or had totally ceased contributing to household income. These are very interesting thoughts from the respondents which have not been found in most surveys that merely give out broad categories that do not explain how they affect the lives of those who remain home.

Emotional-psychological impact is also expressed in very human terms. Parents worry over a young outmigrant or a single daughter especially on his or her first move. They feel homesick for them. But a trouble maker's outmigration is a source of relief to parents.

The impact of a household member's outmigration upon the education-social status of the household can be positive and negative. While some outmigrants have sent siblings to school or have earned higher education through their own efforts, others have temporarily stopped studying in order to save for the next school-year's tuition fees. This upsets parents. These are just a few illustrations of how

the details of the impact categories were verbalized by the staying household head or wife or parent.

The summary of these responses is that 45.6 percent say that they benefitted from the outmigration; 30.0 percent decided that the outmigration has been a loss rather than a gain to the household; and 25.5 percent claimed that it was about even--they felt they neither having gained nor lost. When asked whether outmigrants have sent money home, 61.7 percent said they have not. From the specific and concrete instances that respondents have cited on the impact of a household member's outmigration, it became clear that monetary considerations were only a few of the important effects. The feeling that an outmigrant child had earned a higher education than other household members or had sent a sibling to school is an equally if not more important effect on the parents. This increases their social status in the community especially if the child is an honor student, as one respondent expressed. The importance of the monetary remittance probably lies in the fact that farm land has been bought or retrieved from mortgage because the farm is a very important possession in Bohol. Returning migrants or aged household members who no longer want to engage in off-farm employments go back to the farm. The use of remitted money on the repair or renovation of the house -- another important asset in Bohol which is probably related to their annual celebration of the fiesta when visiting relatives and friends stay with the household for a week or two--is another important utility of the remittance. Other than these, parents' relief from a troublemaker son or from a child's dependence in terms of basic needs (clothes, schooling expenses, etc.) through outmigration is also an important impact because it eases the mind of the household. As W. I. Thomas said, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences".

## CHAPTER IV

### A LOOK INTO THE MIND OF THE MIGRANT: FINDINGS FROM CASE HISTORIES

#### BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF CASE MIGRANTS

The case migrants to be analyzed here are 16 outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro City who were still in the City during 1981 and 19 returnees to households of origin in Bohol from Cagayan de Oro City. The 16 outmigrants will be referred to as non-return migrants from this point on, in contrast to returnees. The purpose of this section is to set a background against which later interpretations might be based.

Basic socio-demographic characteristics of returnees and non-return migrants (see Table 36) are compared in terms of sex, age, marital status, educational level, occupational status, and whether or not they live independently of parents and relatives. Comparisons refer to current characteristics, e.g. for returnees, after returning, rather than characteristics at time of the migrants' departure from their place of origin. These may point to significant differentials affecting return migration or continued stay in the City.

The above characteristics were tested for significance of differences between the return and non-return migrants using Chi Square tests. Significant differences (at the .05 level) between the two groups were observed for marital status, educational levels and occupational status; the returnees living with parents or close relatives when they returned home are significantly different from the independent non-return migrants in the City.

Returnees are slightly younger than non-return migrants, the mean age of the former being 24.9 years and the latter, 26.2 years. These young adults from both types of migrants are typical Boholano migrants who were found to be selective



Table 36

Comparison of Returnees and Non-return Migrants in Six Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Characteristics	Returnees	Non-return Migrants		
1. Age				
15-19	26.3	18.8		
20-24	36.8	37.5		
25-29	15.8	18.8		
30-34	10.5	6.2		
35-39	5.3	12.5		
40-44	5.3	6.2		
All Ages	100.0	100.0		
	(19)	(16)		
Average Age:	24.9	26.2		
2. Sex				
Male	68.4	50.0		
Female	31.6	50.0		
Both Sexes	100.0	100.0		
	(19)	(16)		
3. Marital Status				
Single	73.7	62.5		
Currently Married	26.3	37.5		
Both	100.0	100.0		
	(19)	(16)		
3a. Marital Status by Sex				
	M	F	M	F
Single	47.4	26.3	25.0	37.5
Currently Married	21.0	5.3	25.0	12.5
Both	68.4	31.6	50.0	50.
4. Educational Levels				
< Grade 6	21.0			18.8
Grade 6	21.0			18.8
High School	42.1)			18.8)
< College	5.3)	57.9		18.8)
College	10.5)			25.0)
All Levels	99.9			100.2
	(19)			(16)

Table 36 - continuation

Characteristics	Returnees	Non-return Migrants
5. Occupational Status		
Student	31.6	18.8
Employed	10.5	56.2
Self-employed	36.8	18.8
Unemployed	21.1	6.2
Total	100.0 (19)	100.0 (16)
6. Whether Living Independently		
Independent	10.5	56.2
Living with Parents or Relatives (sister, aunt)	89.5	43.8
All Types	100.0 (19)	100.0 (16)

of those at ages 15-34. At these young ages, the returnees had outmigrated at an average frequency of 2.8 and non-return migrants, of 2.0. Eighty three percent of them have siblings and 36.7 percent have mothers who had experienced provincial migration; 56.7 percent have migratory fathers.

By sex, the two groups differ slightly. Over two-thirds of returnees are males in contrast to 50-50 male/female non-return migrants. This is at variance with Go's (1979) finding that migrants (from Bohol) to urban destinations are predominantly females.

Regarding marital status, more returnees are single than non-return migrants. When the marital status is cross-classified by sex, the significance of the difference is lost. Returnees tend to be single males and staying migrants single females. In a previous study conducted in Bohol, male outmigrants were found to be selective of the unmarried and females tended to be married.

Returnees largely coming from middle socioeconomic class (52.9% vs. 47.1 lower class) are, surprisingly, of lower educational levels than non-return migrants who are heterogenous in terms of socioeconomic status (38.5 lower and 38.5 middle). Fifty-eight percent of returnees had high school to college education as opposed to 62.6% of the non-return migrants'.

Occupationwise, fewer returnees are in the labor force (31.6% are students and 21.1% unemployed). In contrast, migrants remaining in the City are two-thirds employed and 18.8 percent students. The larger numbers of returnees in the student category reflect reasons for return that are likely to be related to education. Migrants still in the City have probably remained due to jobs held; some are, of course, studying.

Migrants still in the City and returnees are also compared in terms of whether they live with relatives in the City and in the case of returned migrants, with parents

or relatives at home. Returnees being predominantly single, they are expected to live with their parents when they return home. This hypothesis holds true. Non-returnees mostly live independently in the City (56.2%) rather than share housing with relatives. Of the two-fifths who live with parents or relatives, quite a few of them live with their case migrant parent and case migrant sister or brother. Those staying with relatives (who are not within the case sample) are mostly salesgirls in textile stores. Part of their employment agreement is that accommodation is provided for these relative-salesgirls.

How do the returnees and staying migrants in the City compare with the larger population in area of origin in terms of grade levels? It appears that the migrants have more education than the staying household members in Bohol. Only 26.3 percent of the larger population have attained high school and college as opposed to 57.9 percent of returnees and 62.6 percent non-return migrants.

#### ON EVENTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO MIGRATION

The main function of the case histories collected from outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro and returnees from there was to uncover the real reasons of these outmigrations and return, and who made the decision to move through the migrants' recounting of the events and circumstances leading to the migration. The case histories also sought to find what impact the migration had made upon the life of the migrant.

The information on circumstances and events leading to outmigration are a means of diagnosing the motivations for and underlying forces triggering migration that the migrant himself may find difficult to verbalize or even fail to recognize if asked to answer directly.

Analysis of the events and circumstances that led to

migration to Cagayan de Oro from 1978 and 1979 as well as recall of past migrations of the migrants and their siblings and/or parents is the basis of the following discussion of emerging patterns. They are not mutually exclusive as will become clear later but for purposes of delineating each factor, each will be discussed and demonstrated separately.

#### PREARRANGED EMPLOYMENT AND TIMING HIRING

In the Bohol MCH-FP Project's dual record study, migrations from Bohol were reported to have been caused by work-related reasons. In her study of internal migration in Bohol, Go (1979) cited the same reasons (51.3%). The same has been found by the household survey part of this study. The ways in which they were expressed in this study varied. A household member left home "to try his luck" outside Bohol. This is a rather general, if not ambiguous, statement. Other ways of expressing economic-motivated pursuits in this same study were: "to hope to be able to engage in money-making activity"; "to earn cash;" "to work there because of the lack of work here;" etc. While the ways in which they were verbalized differ, they clearly point to a single factor that is often summarized by the cliché "to work". One's familiarity with the socioeconomic conditions of Bohol would convince one that work-related reasons are indeed the major causes of outmigration from Bohol. The case histories partly support the findings above but they shed light on interlinked rather than singular and isolated underlying factors surrounding any migration from Bohol. Also, work for some has been found to be a means rather than as an end in migration decisions. In agreement with Cariño and Cariño (1976) this investigator is convinced that reasons for migration obtained from one-shot surveys and direct inquiry tend to be post-hoc rationalizations and couched in generalities.

### The Fiesta

There is a very important religious event in Boholano society that observers have attached much social meaning to. It is the fiesta celebration that is celebrated all over the province during the month of May. The fiesta to a Boholano, whether migrated or not, means thanksgiving to the patron saint (of a barrio or municipality) who brings good health, good luck and prosperity to the home and business affairs. The patron saint is the Boholano's addressee of his prayers, hence, he feels obliged to go home yearly for the feast day to pay homage to his patron saint. Knowing that everybody else will be coming home, the fiesta celebration has become more attractive for every Boholano as it is also the occasion for reuniting with other migrated Boholanos. The fiesta has thus also become a "hunting time" for domestic and service workers. It has, for many years, been the favorite time of migration departures and return. One very important finding from the case histories is that these departures are mostly pre-arranged employments contracted between the prospective employer and the parents of the young migrant or by the former and an adult migrant.

This section discusses two topics, namely: 1) preference for kin employees: the case of textile sales workers and the case of househelpers and other service workers; and 2) the kin as source of information about job opportunities outside Bohol.

Studies that have shown kinship as the major facilitating factor in one's migration describe the ways in which it operates in the following contexts:

1. that kin at place of destination provide needed information and financial assistance for travel;
2. that kin ease the psychic costs or pains of moving away from relatives at friends at place of origin, hence, making the adjustment process of the migrant at place of destination more surmountable;

3. that individual at place of origin receive information about better livelihood opportunities from kin at destination area;
4. that family ties being strong in the Philippines, migration away from home is accepted only reluctantly.

In this study, essentially the same findings are found. However, the case histories have specifically shown in concrete ways rather than in abstract, general terms how kinship, especially among aunts, uncles, siblings and cousins works in migration decisions. The kin at the place of destination and the parents of prospective migrants make the decision -- without much complication -- instantly. Behind this operating procedure lies the strong ties among relatives as well as the value of "hiya". Parents of prospective migrants tend to be ashamed if they do not let their children go with the requesting employer-relative.

#### Preference for Kin Employees: The Case of Textile Sales Workers

A very important finding of the study is the pattern observed of relatives like aunts and uncles and cousins and distant relatives who hire their nieces, nephews and cousins in Bohol whenever they are in need of salesgirls and salesboys in their textile stores outside Bohol. This section is divided into two types of cases of kin employees:

1) the teen-age migrants whose outmigration and employment are contracted between employer and parents, and 2) the adult migrants.

##### 1) Parent-Employer Contracts

How the parent-employer contract operates is illustrated in the following cases.

Marilyn from Loon is 15 years old and is currently working in her auntie's textile store. She recounts that in September 1978, at their town fiesta, Marilyn's auntie

who operates a textile store in the Cogon Market attended the fiesta and stayed for about three weeks. She talked with Marilyn's parents, saying that she would hire Marilyn as salesgirl. This auntie, whom the investigator briefly interviewed, does not hire salesgirls who do not come from Loon municipality. She prefers to hire especially relatives because salesgirls have to do the cashiering themselves without much supervision. Marilyn has an older brother who was also hired by another auntie also in the same business in Negros. Asked whether she would have accepted a similar job in Tagbilaran (the capital city of Bohol), Marilyn insisted: "It is nice to work for one whom you know well or a relative". She does not desire to earn definite cash income or to find another employer (in return for her services, she is given goods such as clothes, toiletries, etc).

In the case mentioned above, there is a mutual preference for working for and hiring a relative. In the next case, an instance will be shown where a Boholano is careful in not hurting the feelings of another by allowing a household member to be hired as well as how a parent arrives at the decision of whether or not to permit a child to migrate. Alma was 13 years old when she left home to work for a distant relative in Negros. She recalls that her mother did not want her to go because "I was very young then and had never left home before". Her grandmother, however, did not want to disappoint their relative. In turn, out of respect for her mother-in-law, Alma's mother was forced to permit Alma to go. When Alma's grandma died, she returned home as did her older sister who was working for their neighbor in Cagayan. As in Alma's case, Evangeline's employment was contracted between the neighbor and the girls' parents. After their grandma's death, their father sent Evangeline to Surigao in order to oversee their textile business there. Alma, on the other hand, was asked by her mother to "Replace your older sister (in Cagayan). What will your 'Manang' say to Evangeline's early return



home," referring to Evangeline's short stay in Cagayan due to their grandma's death. "I just went because I had already tried working outside before anyway... because in Bohol I just stayed idle (referring to not having work that generates income)." She came to Cagayan for the first time with her employer. As agreed between her mother and employer before leaving, Alma left work after one year (from May 1978 to May 1979) as she was to enrol in first year high school in June 1979. She went to high school but quit in the middle when the family store in Surigao was burned down. Shortly afterwards in June 1980, she went back to the same store upon the recall of her employer. Of her return to Cagayan she said, "My parents permitted me because in Bohol I would not be able to earn money, just stay idle," and her parents did not have money to send her back to school. At the time of the interview, her employer was in Bohol to get Alma a replacement because she was troubled by serious gas pains and wanted to be healed at home. Asked why she needed to go home for the medication for her illness, she said, "It is better there because my parents are there... the boss is not the same as parents." Alma, now 16 years old, still wants to go back to school but has no definite idea how to go about it. At present, she is not willing to go to school while working.

From Alma's case, a few observations could be made. One is the fact that children have no choice but submit to the grandmother's and parents' decisions involving outmigration. Parents are authority figures. Much more so are older members such as a household member grandmother. Two, that after two moves, Alma had gained confidence in moving again and this time at her own liking but which was, of course, initiated by the former neighbor-employer by recalling her to Cagayan. Three,

being out of school and without earning a living, the teenager did not want to "stay idle." Four, evidence of repeated moves is clear.

Similarly, a farm lad had been to different places through the hiring and influence by relatives. Abundio graduated from sixth grade at age 12. Sometime later, his uncle in Cagayan sent for him to go to Cagayan to work in his textile store. He was fetched by a cousin who at that time was working in Cagayan. When asked why he decided to leave his parents in Loon, and go to Cagayan, he said: "They won't hire others because they prefer cousins. I did not have a job back home because our farm is stony... we cannot survive. I also wanted to get around places." Indeed, that was the beginning step in his getting to places. His parent willingly approved, knowing that he was safe with his uncle and cousins in Cagayan. At another time his uncle in Leyte sent him a letter saying that he wanted him to work in his textile store there. (At that time his younger sister had also gone to Leyte to work for pay on a similar job.) He went to work in Leyte for one year even when at the time he was working in a cousin's tailoring shop in Bohol. Abundio also reported of his siblings' migratory behavior that was facilitated by their relatives. For instance, the second child in the family had been to Leyte to manage the family's textile store. Then he was taken by an uncle to Cotabato to work for him in his tailoring shop. He got married there. The third child was also hired by the same uncle who brought Abundio to Cagayan to work in his textile store. She worked there for three years. When she returned to Bohol, she got married but that did not deter her from moving. She and her husband who had worked in Samar as a tailoring cutter before, lived in Samar for about four years after which

they returned to Bohol. Finding their location in Bohol not suitable for tailoring, they ventured moving to Bukidnon where Abundio's cousin was operating a tailoring shop. The fourth child in the family was the first one to go to Southern Leyte. He was brought there by an uncle and worked there for about four years. He got married in Bohol and has lived there since. The sixth child had been to Leyte for two years through the employment by her uncle. She is now married, and is a tailor in her cousin's tailoring in Bohol. The youngest is also employed in this cousin's tailoring. He had been to Camp Philips to work as jeep conductor of his cousin for about two years.

In the case of Abundio, the role kinship plays is again evident. This pattern is clear even within the confines of the household where Abundio's siblings were hired before outmigration. Even within Bohol, working for close relatives also happens. The ease migrants' recall of the migratory behavior of his siblings is an indication that migration has become an ordinary, routine event in the lives of members of outmigration households.

From the cases discussed above, all outmigrations were preceded by pre-arranged employments taking place in Bohol. These are done in three forms. One is through the personal presence of the relative-employer contracting with migrant's parents. The second form is the sending of a representative to do the hiring and fetching of the teenage relative who goes out of Bohol for the first time. The third form of contracting work with a relative is through a letter. A second observation from the cases mentioned above is that the family or clan seems to be bound to a single enterprise such as textile merchandize and tailoring as a result of the utilization of closest kin and this in turn, results in increased mobility as kinsfolk are scattered all over.

## 2) The Case of Adult Migrants

Even adult relatives are contracted for work personally by the relative-employer. Fe was 23 years old when she was personally hired by her aunt in Loon to work for her as a salesgirl in a textile store in Cagayan. She was offered a salary of ₱50 a month then. It was in 1973 when Fe's mother stopped working as domestic helper in several places like Davao, Iligan, and Cagayan and turned to farming a one-fourth hectare of land. In need of cash income, Fe accepted the job and worked for five straight years broken by 4-5 month long vacations. The first one being in 1978. Now 29 years old, Fe says of her job: "I like my work here, besides my employer is my aunt." She is given autonomy in running the store in the Cogon market as her aunt manages another in Carmen and frequently crosses to Bohol whenever she wants. An only child, Fe works mainly to raise money for her mother in Bohol (who had separated from her husband when Fe was very young) and for herself. She hopes to save to be able to put up a sari-sari store in the future. She no longer desires to go to other places even with the many offers she gets.

Another adult migrant was recruited by a relative through a personal visit. The case referred to here is Narcisa. She is 34 years old, single, and has three living children. The fourth of eight children, she was adopted by her childless auntie when her mother was pregnant with the fifth child. Narcisa turned out to be of sub-normal intelligence. (She repeatedly failed in first grade but finally passed to grade two; she bore three children, but does not show responsibility in taking care of them like a normal mother.)

In May 1978, Narcisa's cousin came to Poblacion Dagohoy to attend the fiesta and to look for a househelp. He directly consulted her foster parents but it was Narcisa whom they left to decide. The main contract was to return her whenever she wanted. After finding out that Cagayan (which was actually Opol) was not as she expected it to be (that it is a beautiful city), she gave her children as an excuse for her comback some few months later. After that, her foster parents would not let her go away again. With Narcisa's condition, migration could not have been possible were it not for the invitation of the cousin and the trust of the aunt and uncle in their nephew.

Preference for Kin Employees: The Case of House Helpers and Other Service Workers

Preference for relatives in employment is true not only in the textile business but also in domestic service, in repair shops and other types of service jobs. The cases to be taken up here illustrate this clear preference for the hiring of kin.

The first case is that of a 40-year-old pedicab driver who has always been fetched to Tagbilaran everytime there is an available job for him in Mindanao. In 1973, for instance, his uncle who visited in Tagbilaran encouraged him to go to a town in Davao Oriental to drive the pedicab that he was at the time planning to buy in Cebu. He went with him but was impatient when the arrival of the motor and the building of the cab was delayed. While waiting for the completion of the cab, his uncle proposed to let him drive his passenger jeep but Adriano declined because the jeep was not in a good running condition. He went home and drove his own cab.

He had done this earlier - that is, went to Davao through his brother's encouragement to drive the latter's pedicab. He also returned home then, unable to drive after discovering that the cab was not brand new. Another invitation came in 1978. One brother in Cagayan de Oro who was driving a pedicab, came to Bohol for him as requested by his friend who needed a cook in his restaurant. Adriano in his young days had two years experience of restaurant cooking in Davao. At that time, Adriano was driving a rented cab, had five children going to school (the eldest in first year high school) and his wife took charge of their small farm which until now has been the source of their grain consumption. In a matter of four hours, despite the protests of his wife, Adriano decided to go to Cagayan with his brother. He found the salary attractive compared to his income as pedicab driver in Tagbilaran. He was paid ₱360 a month with free board and lodging, cigarettes, and soap. He work there for eleven months. Presently, he is back to pedicab driving in Tagbilaran.

The second case is that of a farm hand who has not finished high school. Aquilino is the right hand of his father. He is fourth of 10 children born and has been brought up in the farming community of Soom. His father is from this area and has not changed residence ever since. The family has nine hectares of farm land, inherited and bought; has two working carabaos and four cows for fattening. Aquilino quit school after second year high after which he has been helping his father on the farm. The first time he left home was in 1977. His maternal uncle whose business was the buying-and-selling of fish was in need of workers for his inter-island fishing boat. He asked Aquilino if he was interested to join him. The inter-island boat travelled to Samar, Masbate and Palawan. This fascinated Aquilino. In

addition, he wanted to have some experience in this kind of business. He noted: "I just wanted to gain experience... a man needs to learn about things that are not taught in school. We become shy when we confine ourselves in the house." At that time, the farm was ready for planting; the greater bulk of rice field work had been done and planting could be done by hired labor. So Aquilino was free to go. After seven months, he returned to the farm according to his father's wishes. Another invitation by his godfather for a fishing trip came some two years later. As before, the farm work he was expected to do was done so his father permitted him to leave. Again, as before, his parents notified him to come home after six months as his father left the farm to his care while he went to cultivate a newly-bought farm in Agusan Province. Since 1980, Aquilino has not left the farm for three straight months or more. He was scheduled to be married five months after interview.

The next case is of a young migrant from a fishing village whose parents admit they could not provide their children with good clothes and much less, education beyond sixth grade. Fe, now 19 years old, had been hearing about her friends' adventures in the city since grade school. She heard that the city is lively and that there are many things to see there. Each time a friend came home from the city, she observed that they had acquired good clothes, bought personal items that had improved their looks. She imaged that the same would happen to her if she also worked in the city. Being out of school, it was easier for her to catch an opportunity. After their town fiesta, a former neighbor went around to hire two househelpers. A neighbor about her age and Fe decided they should now see the city. She said, "It was my own decision to go in order that I can buy myself clothes

... and help my mother (financially). Also to see a city. There was a time when I was asked to work in Tagbilaran (capital city of Bohol) but I did not want to go because it is very near (less than an hour's bus trip). It is exciting to go to a place that's far so you don't have to always go home." She and her neighbor friend stayed in Cagayan for 12 months only because "I did not like the character of my employer. She often scolded me." At interview time she was in first year high school. It was not really her original idea to enter high school. She was just persuaded by her own "barkada" (gang) to try what it feels like to be in high school. She feels that she might not continue to second year: "I have no ambition and no one will spend for my schooling."

From Fe's story, it can be seen that although the employment was pre-arranged, parental influence is not directly visible. It appears that the migrant herself emphasized her own will in wanting to migrate and she was just waiting for the opportunity. The element of imitation as well as influence of peer groups is present. Parental approval, however, could not be discounted as permission would not have been given if employer was not personally known in the barrio.

In the next case, the hiring took place in Bohol but the employer was not a relative. The migrant, Mauro, comes from a municipal poblacion, is an elementary graduate and 27 years old. Mauro's four brothers and one sister had been outmigrants themselves before they got married, just like their parents.

In 1971, about five years after he graduated from elementary school, a bag dealer from Cebu talked him into working for his bag factory. Since he was just helping his father fish or helping in the household chores, he went with the bag dealer. He was paid ₱30



a month with free board and lodging. After three months, he was called home because his father was sick. In that same year, he was sent for by his older brother working in an auto repair shop in Cagayan. There was a job in the shop for him. It turned out he was in for a domestic chore like tending the pigs, cleaning the house and feeding the roosters. He also oiled the truck. When his brother was transferred to another shop, Mauro took his place.

In Mauro's case, kin and a non-relative have facilitated his migration but each time he was fetched from at home.

In the cases discussed above as well as in the previous section, the case migrants were merely fetched rather than attempted to migrate in order to find work as is wont to be reported in survey data both in Bohol and elsewhere. The case histories do not only illustrate, they convey additional knowledge because they give a more precise meaning to summary statements couched in abstract language.

#### Kin as Source of Information About Job Opportunities

Visiting relatives, especially siblings and cousins, facilitate migration of Boholanos by bringing news that a job opportunity or a business venture exists in Cagayan or elsewhere. Siblings and cousins are priority fillers of vacant jobs. Here is a case of a 19-year-old lady from a farming area. In the summer of 1979, Catalina, who had just finished sixth grade, was employed as a clothing peddler during market days. This required travel from her home to municipalities where the "tabo" (market day) took place. She reported that she enjoyed this job as it kept her mobile until her brother from Cagayan visited them. He informed Catalina that a bakery salesgirl

was needed in a bakery where a cousin was working. After the fiesta in May, Catalina left home with a former neighbor who had a restaurant in Cagayan. Her overeagerness to see a lively city and to execute her plans was too great for her parents to resist. When she left home, she was keen on helping her parents build a better house. (For Boholanos, a house that is big and made of strong materials is a priority need. This may be related to their annual celebration of the fiesta where visiting relatives are accommodated.) She also hoped to save for her schooling the following year. It turned out that after one year, she had used most of her earnings on clothes and other personal effects; she had sent ₱300 home. Catalina's parents, especially her father, do not get in the way of their children's desire to find work outside Bohol. They are expected to be earning on their own at age 17. Consequently, all four older children left home as teenagers to work for migrated neighbors and relatives who take them from Bohol.

The next case is that of a visiting cousin who, because of his news of a possible business venture in Cagayan de Oro, was employed.

Twenty-eight-year-old Bonifacio of Tagbilaran City was operating a medium sari-sari store in September 1978 which the couple had put up from the wife's salary as a substitute teacher. One day in September 1978, during a fiesta, a cousin of Bonifacio's brought him news that he knew of an available Ford Fiera with a freezer attached for rent in Cagayan. This jeep was meant for long distance buying and selling of fish. This attracted Bonifacio. He had not been on a job since he had a bad vehicle accident in 1975 in Agusan Province. He and his nephew left for Cagayan and began the business. He was the driver and his nephew his travel assistant

within nine months of travel between Cagayan de Oro and Zamboanga, the price of gas rose so when the owner wanted his jeep back, Bonifacio did not look for another jeep. He returned home, obtained a loan from a local bank, and bought a Ford Fiera which he hires to drug salesmen in Bohol. A year afterwards, he was able to put up a restaurant in Tagbilaran. Since then, he had not tried outmigration again.

Sometimes, a Boholano is initiated into a migratory behavior through a relative's bringing news that there is a vacant job. A son of a farmer-owner began migrating back and forth to Bohol when he was 13. It started when a cousin working in an auto repair shop in Cagayan de Oro in 1969 notified him of a need for shop helper. That event led him to several more migrations that were mostly influenced and even arranged by his parents and sibling at the start. When he got used to outmigration, he did so on his own will. To trace the history of his moves and the influence behind them, here is Rolando's story. At his sixth month in Cagayan de Oro his parents called him home because he was needed by his married sister in Manila. She had just delivered a baby and had no househelp. When he returned home he was already fifteen years old. His one month stay home during which time he was trained in tailoring brough him back to Luzon. A Pampangeño tailor who married a lady from Rolando's place was interested in him, trained him further for two weeks and employed him as tailor. He spent another two years in Luzon after which he returned home. Barely two weeks after his return, he set off to leave again on his own, this time to Cagayan de Oro and tried several employments.

After one year, he went home after he broke off with a consensual wife to ease his mind. His parents advised him to take a vacation to Manila. He was able to find

work as a construction helper there but after two months left for home. Not long afterwards, he left for Malaybalay to renew his driving license as he was planning to stay in Bohol and drive. He knew that tailoring in Bohol did not pay much. He hired a pedicab for one year, then his father bought him a second hand pedicab which he drove for five months only and sold as it broke down frequently. Having just married in 1980, he stays in Bohol at the moment to farm.

An older sibling away from Bohol who has found himself a good job looks forward to the day when his younger siblings can come with him, also to work. So what he does is "sharpen his antennae" for possible opportunities where a sibling can fit in. Two such examples will be the subject of the next discuss. .

Ramon is 21 years old and the youngest of seven children. He comes from an interior farming community in Bohol where "most young men who stay in their barrio usually work on their own farms or as laborers, and young women migrate to Davao and Butuan." He reported that cash is difficult to obtain back home whereas in Cagayan cash is easily earned. As of interview date, Ramon was a bill collector in a community hospital of his uncle's in Cagayan. The story behind his present employment was one of a long, arduous quest. His older brother, Teofilo, a bookkeeper of the hospital was asked by his uncle to go over from Davao to work for him. When Ramon was a junior in high school, he was fetched home by Teofilo so that he could work in Cagayan as a janitor in the hospital while at the same time finishing high school on his own. His time schedule at work, however, did not allow him to study so he took up tailoring instead. Insistent on going back to school, he returned home after a year and used his savings for tuition. After he

graduated in March 1979, his brother got him work as a tailor helper in a Boholano friend's shop. He worked only for three months there because the shop closed down. Unable to find another job, he went home again. He stayed on the farm for one year. In the summer of 1980, Teofilo cabled him again. A bill collector was needed in the hospital. Presently, he is receiving ₱300 per month. He sends money home as does his older brother for their college-going sister and ageing parents. He also uses part of his salary on the electronics course that he takes up in the evening.

In this case, there has been a repeated call by the older sibling trying to employ the younger and, correspondingly, a sustained hope for final placement for the latter.

A similar case is that of Antonio's. His sister who had taken up several jobs in Cagayan de Oro and who finally landed on a good one at PCPCOM, tried to get him a job. Antonio, now 22 years old, was then in second year high school when his sister wired him to go to Cagayan for a janitorial position. When he arrived, however, the job had been given to another. Instead of sending him back to Loon, his sister let him stay. He had been jobless for one year but he took care of the house. When his sister got married the next year and Antonio still had no job, his in-law volunteered that they send him to school. He had two years of schooling to complete. His married sister does not promise him full support in college but is very keen on finding him a job.

It is clear from the above cases how important a sibling's migration plays in further migration of other household members. As long as siblings perpetuate migration from Bohol, the rest of the household members, especially the younger ones, continue to be drawn away.

#### There are Scout Agents in Bohol

It was very surprising to learn that in a rural place

like Bohol scout agents for employment to far places such as Manila are present. This is very important in actualizing desires to migrate since the terms are attractive: these include cash advance for fare to Manila, for instance, and free round trip transportation if the recruit works for the employer for at least one year.

The first time the investigator learned about the presence of scout agents in Bohol was when she was conducting interviews in a hilly barangay that is about eight kilometers from the provincial road. In the later interviews, this was reiterated by other informants. The informants have not necessarily experience being employed through scout agents. Scout agents are for Manila-bound Boholanos. But this element is very effective in labor supply transfer.

Dionesio is a diminutive 18-year-old who looks much like a child of thirteen. Born in Barangay Bantuan which sits on a hilly area fronting Cebu City, Dionesio grew up in the farm with only two grades in school and destitution pervading his life. The seventh of eight children of four boys and four girls, Dionesio was too young to remember when his father died. His older sisters and brothers had all been married then and he recalls only himself and his younger brother as the only children living with his mother. His mother's only means of support for them was a very small piece of tenanted farm (he could not determine size) on which she grew upland rice. Life was so miserable for them that his mother decided to work away. She was recruited by an agent who scouts for service workers in Barangay Bantuan. Her contracted work was as a laundrywoman. She began working away when Dionesio was 12 years old. Dionesio and his younger brother as well as the little farm were left to the care of their married sister who lived nearby. Almost a year after their mother's departure, young Dionesio and brother were recruited to work in Manila through an agent. Dionesio reports that workers for Manila are hired in Bohol through agents. The two of them were

assigned to different employers. They were not afraid to go to work in the big city of Manila because most young people in the barrio had done this before. Dionesio did not stay longer than one month because he felt very homesick especially since about that time their mother was returning home. He returned home with his mother whereas his younger brother stayed. His mother had been shuttling back and forth between Bohol and Manila. Dionesio, on the other hand, had been to nearby municipalities in Bohol to engage in off-farm employments with his young peers, to Cebu and Cagayan for short periods. In Barangay Bantuan farm produce is barely enough for consumption. Cash income has to be sought elsewhere. The short term but frequent outmigrations of Dionesio and others are a means of seeking cash in non-farm work such as basket making at particular times of the year. But the need for cash income does not overwhelm them, forcing them to stay out permanently. Chapman's conflicting social or cultural and economic factors applies here -- leading to shuttling, temporary migrations.

#### PURSUIT OF MORE EDUCATION: THE ROLE OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND OTHER RELATIVES

Young migrants from Bohol whose parents cannot afford to give their children education higher than elementary leave home to support themselves. Seeking higher education requires that they outmigrate. Either they quit schooling for a year to work and save for the next year or work and study at the same time. The luckier ones are supported by older siblings but, in return, they render services. Hence, there is the necessity to migrate. It will be observed that kinsfolk, especially siblings, play a big role in these young migrants' moves.

In the cases presented here, the desire to pursue higher or more education has not necessarily been fulfilled.

Also, the pursuit had mostly not been sustained. It will be interesting to find out why.

There are 10 young migrants in the sample whose case histories show that education was the primary motive for moving. They range in age between 16 and 21 and came from different barrios in the sample areas. A household outmigration was decided upon by one mother in order to give her intelligent children a good education.

Diomedes is 17, the sixth of 11 children of government-employed parents in a municipal poblacion. Diomedes has seven brothers going to school, only five of whom are supported by parents, one being a COCOFED scholar and another being supported by his maternal grandfather. Diomedes comes from a clan with educated background. In both parental lineage, there has been a history of professionals in the private or public service as well as in the religious vocation. Perhaps, because of the influence, his eldest sibling also became a priest. He now resides in Cotabato. The second sibling completed Agriculture and is now in Oroquieta. The third and only sister, had only one year to go in college when she married. The fourth sibling is a half-scholar in Agriculture and is graduating. The next one is sophomore in aeronautical engineering in Cebu. The others are in high and grade school.

In 1979, Ramonchita, the only sister of Diomedes whose migration to Cagayan de Oro was triggered by the economic difficulty of the family (who at the time was sending a child for priesthood at Ateneo de Manila), volunteered to send one brother to school in Cagayan. The parents chose the seventh child, Salvio. Before he left though, he took a COCOFED scholarship exam. When the results showed that he qualified, his father fetched him back and in his place brought Diomedes with him. Diomedes



stayed in Cagayan for one year. At the close of the schoolyear, he went home. It was timely since his sister's family was to move out to Dipolog. As of interview time, Diomedes was counting on passing the exam he took to gain entrance to the Passionist order the following year. If he was accepted, it meant that he had to go away again - to Cotabato this time.

The next migrant is 21 years old and a second year in college at the Cathedral Institute of Technology. He comes from a fishing village where his father is a fisherman. Gilberto is the eldest child. He reports that he had stopped for a duration of three years before graduating in high school due to financial difficulty. During that time, he helped his father fish. After high school, Gilberto had stopped for another year before he came to Cagayan. All this time, he was making plans to leave Bohol in order to go to college but he did not have specific places in mind to go. It just happened that he was brought to Cagayan. In the summer of 1979, his cousin Rolando returned home for a vacation. He was a working student of the RVM and was asked to bring with him another working student, preferably a brother or cousin. Learning about Gilberto's desire to proceed to college, Rolando told him about the opportunity. Although Gilberto was anxious to take the chance, he had to seek approval from his parents. In the past, his parents did not permit him to go to Bukidnon to work because they were scared of the security situation there aside from its being far. Gilberto plans to help one brother through school when he graduates. He prefers to work here in Cagayan where his cousin Rolando has easily landed a job. If his plans push through, it will mean another Bohol migrant coming due to education.

The next case is about three siblings from a municipal poblacion. Bonifacia, the first one to come to Cagayan was responsible for the coming of the younger siblings. How she came was accidental, however. In their town fiesta in 1976, a visiting auntie who had permanently resided in Cagayan asked Bonifacia's parents for permission to bring her to Cagayan to spend the rest of the summer vacation there. Expecting that she would return before classes begin, she was permitted to go by her parents. When already in Cagayan, her auntie lured her to work in her tailoring shop as a receptionist and go on with her studies at the same time. Impressed by what she discovered in Cagayan, she accepted the proposal even before asking the permission of her parents. They were against the idea but could not do anything because they communicated through letters. When she was in third year college, she found work as promo-girl through a classmate. After that job, she found a similar one in a different company. In 1979, when she graduated, she sent word that she could send two siblings to school. In the summer of the same year, Benjamina and Urbano migrated to Cagayan de Oro. The brother attended day classes and the younger sister to night classes. She planned to send Urbano back home after the school year ends and in his place invite Roquena who was graduating in high school. She could not take the three of them together because their rented room is too small to accommodate them.

The next cases are of young migrants whose goals were to continue their studies but found that they could not. The frustrations, however, did not deter them to keep coming back nor from moving on.

Ramon, 26 years old, was brought by his brother to Cagayan in order that he can work, and then study. He was

in third year high school that time. He was employed as a janitor but could not go to school because his work schedule did not allow him to attend day classes. Instead of returning home, he went on with his job the whole year and attended tailoring classes in the evenings. The following year, he returned home and used his savings to pay his tuition fees. After graduating, he came back to work but there was no work for him. After a series of several comebacks, he finally landed a permanent job and up to interview date had been taking an electronics course.

Antonia has siblings in many parts of the Visayas and Mindanao areas. She sees migration as a natural action by her siblings and by the youths in her place in Loon. Her parents, depending on nipa thatching, for a living could not provide Antonia with a continuous high school education, she stopped some years before she could go to the next schoolyear. In 1975, Antonia stopped schooling. A married sister in Cagayan wrote, inviting her to spend a vacation there. Antonia took this opportunity in order to find a job and save for the next year. For nearly two years, she was not able to save and go back to school until she was recalled by her mother who was losing her eyesight. In 1978, she took up a typing course so that she could find a job within Bohol even when she was schooling. She did find a short-term job in Tagbilaran but returned to Cagayan afterwards and found different short-term jobs.

In the following schoolyear she went back to school. At interview time, she was about to graduate and was looking forward to return to Cagayan to work and study. She sounded hopeful about finding work because of her typing training and high school diploma.

The next few cases have a similar experience with Antonia. Catalina thought she could save while working

as a bakery salesgirl for one year but her shift schedule did not allow her to do so and she felt homesick. On her return her parents sent her back to school. Velino went with his uncle to Leyte because he was promised to be sent to high school but he was not. After that he had made many moves that ended up in coming home and finally going back to school in Bohol. Aquilino's case was a little different in that his father's old friend for whom he had to work in exchange for free education had a serious misunderstanding with him. Alma, on the other hand, went with her "paisano" employer to Cagayan in order to save money for the next schoolyear. It appeared that she did not complete her schooling the next year because when the family store was burned in Surigao, she was asked to quit school. Although her plans did not materialize, she returned to Cagayan, and plans to go back to Bohol again but is likely to come back until such time when, like all others, a sense of being settled is achieved.

#### PARENTS AND SIBLINGS ARE MIGRATORY

Are Boholanos an inherently migratory ethnic group, as some analysts seem to think of some ethnic group? Is genetic wanderlust (Simmons et al., 1977: 58) the force explaining a tradition of movements by Boholanos? Bennett (1974, as cited in Mowat, 1977) notes that there are instinctive, inherent drives (p. 14) in man just as there are in many species of animals -- particularly among the young -- for excitement and action. Simmons et al. are, however, more inclined to believe in socioeconomic factors in place of origin rather than in Bennett's contention. In the case of wandering Ilocanos, for instance, their mountainous province and poor soil are more credible and

conspicuous explanatory factors according to these authors.

From the migration histories of parents and siblings that case migrants easily recounted, it becomes clear that case migrants are aware of the migratory behavior of their parents -- especially their fathers -- and siblings. Every case migrant recognizes that the young and even the old come and go out of Bohol. It has become a common occurrence in Bohol. Being part of a Boholano's life, migration has become a natural action that waits for opportune actualization.

A 24-year-old case migrant recalls in detail the migration members of the family have incurred. He recollects about his father's travelling to Southern Leyte to sell textile materials until he was able to put up his own store there. At that time, the other family members were left in Bohol while his father and eldest male sibling lived in Leyte. In addition, he recalls each of the migrations of his sisters and brothers. He says the eldest child had never outmigrated from Bohol, that the second child was taken by their uncle to Cotabato to work in his tailoring shop, that the third child was also brought by an uncle to Cagayan, also to work in a tailoring shop he owned. For three years she worked there and when she returned to Bohol, she married a tailor-cutter after which they went off to Samar where the husband had previously worked. After about four years, they returned to Bohol to put up their own shop in an inland municipality. Realizing that the place was not profitable for the tailoring business, they decided to try Manolo Fortich Bukidnon where the family had a cousin who operated a tailoring shop. To start their life there, the brother-in-law worked for the cousin as a cutter until the couple had saved enough to put up their own business. At present they are still operating their tailoring shop in Manolo Fortich.

The fourth child in the family was the first one to leave for Southern Leyte. He was brought there by another uncle where he worked for about four years. He got married in Bohol and is still there now. The sixth child had also been to Leyte to work in her uncle's textile store. She stayed there for two years. Presently she is a tailor in their cousin's shop. The youngest is also employed in the same cousin's shop. But before this employment, he had been to Camp Phillips to work as a jeep conductor of his cousin's jeep. After two years, he went back to Bohol. Not long afterwards he got married. For the case migrant's part, he started leaving home at age 13. His uncle in Cagayan, knowing that he had graduated from sixth grade and was not doing any paid work, sent for him in Bohol; he was fetched by a cousin. His first migration was the longest one he had. He worked for his uncle for five years. After that he completed three more migrations out of Bohol, each ended by a return home. This same case migrant comments that his awareness of the migratory behavior of others is not confined within the limits of the family. He has observed that young people from his place usually migrate to Cagayan de Oro, Leyte, and Cebu, to work as salesgirls and salesboys. Other case migrants recount migrations of their family members with the same ease. A stayer in Cagayan de Oro, Flavia Cantones, a textile store operator in the Cogon Market, recites how she and her children had come to migrate to Cagayan de Oro. She recalls that husband Cristobal immigrated to Cagayan in 1939 when he was still single. Along with other Boholanos, he peddled clothing in selected Mindanao areas where that kind of business was still new and very profitable. When Cristobal married Flavia, he stopped peddling and set up a makeshift store in the Cogon market. From there, he was able to rent a permanent space within the same

location as well as along J.R. Borja St.

Newly-married Rolando recounts that when his parents started life together, his farmer father tried other jobs outside Bohol to supplement their farm produce. It was from this income that his parents were able to build their own house. Rolly, at age 13, left his home when his shop helper cousin informed him of a vacancy in the shop where the former worked. Being the fourth child in the family, he had seen his older siblings going away to other places before they settled down. He has also observed that youths usually leave Bohol after the harvest season and return in May-June to participate in parents' rice planting. Incidentally, May is the fiesta month of Bohol. This observation confirms Muijzenberg's finding of rural adolescents and adult migrants' moving repeatedly from place of origin to Metro Manila to work temporarily before returning seasonally to their village for planting and harvesting.

The above case is only one evidence of the case migrants' awareness of the phenomenon of outmigration of his parents, his siblings and the community. In the previous sections of this chapter this has been clearly shown also.

#### FAMILY BUSINESS OUTSIDE BOHOL

Some migrations out of Bohol were a natural response to a set up such as family business that household members inevitably fall into. The direction of the migration and the kind of activity children are likely to engage in are in part unconsciously controlled by parents. A few case studies will illustrate this. Flavia and Lito Cantones are the wife and child of a long-time textile merchant

Cristobal who migrated to Mindanao in 1939. He was single then when he travelled with his wares to selected areas in Mindanao until he settled in a makeshift store in Cogon market. When he married Flavia, also from Bohol, he still continued with his business but often crossed to Bohol. When the children were growing up, the family was divided: some stayed with their father in Cagayan and some were in Bohol. In the 60's, Cristobal was able to rent a permanent store until he had formed two branches and this required that his wife come over to manage the other stores. Most of the children began school in Bohol and went out to Cebu or Manila when they were in college but they frequently crossed back and forth to Cagayan. Lito started to stay for months in Cagayan in 1973 when he began college. His mother preferred that he studied in Cagayan to save a little on board and lodging costs. Lito took up Agriculture in Cagayan and found a job at the National Food Authority after graduation. He has learned to like Cagayan but has not lost interest in Bohol although he spends more time in Cagayan.

A similar case is that of Exuperia Cantones. Her family migrated to Cagayan when she was in Grade four due to their thriving textile business in Cagayan. Exuperia's trade now was inherited from his father who started training when he was single in Cagayan. She married a Boholano, Vericundo, in Cagayan whose occupation is also textile merchandize. Exuperia did not like academic work and probably thought that her trade did not require it. She quit in the middle of first year in college. In 1977, she returned to Bohol where labor is abundant and cheap to start the couples' sewing business. Vericundo delivers them to Bukidnon and Iligan.

The parents of Vericundo are in the same business. His father was trained in the buying and selling of



clothing materials in his mid-teens. He worked for his uncle in Negros Occidental until he was able to establish his own business. He spent fifty-four years in the business and retired only in 1978 when he was 68 years old. He has since then (1978) permanently stayed in Bohol. Vericundo has graduated in commerce. He said that he never had thoughts of going to have a different job from that of parents and siblings.

When the Cantones children completed their elementary education in Bohol, they left for Negros to stay with their father and pursue their high school and the college education there or in neighboring places like Cebu. All four children, three of whom are now married, have inherited the occupation of their parents. The eldest has a textile store in Cagayan that is supervised by her workers from their place while she manages her sewing business in Cebu. Another sister is in Cagayan de Oro and is in partnership with Vericundo. Aside from this partnership business, Vericundo has his own for which he travels to Iligan and Bukidnon.

#### CASH INCOME MOTIVES: SHORT-TERM JOBS

The motive to earn cash income is one triggering factor of outmigration. Such needs as building a new house, buying clothes for oneself, and saving for one's education for the next year are good reasons for outmigration. It should be borne in mind, however, that this factor does not operate singly but in complex interaction with other non-economic factors.

Ownership of a house is one of the priorities of a Boholano couple. They usually build it before the coming of children and that means doing it early in married life.

Farmers, who are usually subsistence level producers, need to go out for a period of time to earn the money to buy construction materials. Two cases will be shown here.

The case migrant's parents are natives of the barrio of interview. They own about three hectares of farmland in two separate parcels which are inherited by the wife from her well-off parents. In the beginning, they were given only one-half hectare on which the couple could plant rice. The husband went away at several periods of their early married life to earn cash and left the small farm to the care of his wife. In 1949, when they had two children (they had six at the end of the wife's reproductive life), Pelagio worked as agricultural worker in Croquieta. In 1952, he went off again but this time to Lanao where a younger brother had worked in a plywood factory. The earnings he saved from this second work was used to build the house they are occupying now. When their farm land was increased to almost three hectares, Pelagio stayed on to concentrate his time on farmwork. History repeated itself in the person of his son. Pelagio has given one-half hectare of his farm to newly-married son Rolly to try out. It is Rolly's first attempt at farming. He has spend a good part of his single life as tailor. But tailoring in Bohol is not very profitable.

Since the time that Pelagio's farm has been increased to nearly three hectares, he hires workers to prepare the padi and do the planting. He tries his best to fertilize his ricefield twice each season. To be able to save cash for the coming planting season to pay for labor and to buy fertilizer, he sells some of the produce but keeps the larger part for consumption.

In a different location which lies along the provincial highway, one case migrant mentions that seasonal

departures by young farm children are a common happening. These usually occur after harvest or planting time and are temporary. These are also group migrations. To cite the migrant's father's story:. At the time Ramon Sr. was married to Maria, he was tilling one-and-a-half hectares of inherited dry ricefield and coconuts. Maria, on the other hand, was dress-making in their rented house. Hoping to be able to save money to build their own house. Ramon Sr. left his family in Bohol. He peddled figurines in Cagayan that he bought on credit from a Cebuano. Some four months later, he took his wife and son with him to Cagayan where his wife continued with dress-making. This time Pelagio sold his figurines around Misamis Oriental with a friend. Before one year was over however, they went back to Bohol because they felt there was no progress taking place in their life. He went back to farming and his wife continued with dress-making. About five years later, he went into business once more. He sold buntal hats inside ships in Butuan City which were bound for Misamis Oriental and Surigao. He lasted for only one year on this business because Butuan City was often flooded. He returned to farming again but in the succeeding years went back to buy and sell sporadically and then fell back to farming. Little by little their house was erected during these times. From this case, it is revealed that ownership of house took time to be realized and required several moves out of the village of domicile. The same pattern is visible in the next case. Mauro S. peddled textile materials to Cebu in 1948; four months later, he went home and engaged in various jobs such as buying and selling of relief goods on market days and labor in the pier. In the early fifties, he and his wife went off to Davao and spent twelve months working in the port. After childbirth, his wife got ill and this led them to decide

to return home. He also felt it was about time to build their own house (it is the one they are occupying now). When he returned home, he went back to fishing. In times when fishing proved discouraging and could not support his family, he switched to peddling textile in Mindanao. Now, he has settled himself to fishing.

#### GROUP MIGRATION BY THE YOUNG

In Bohol, migration in groups is a common phenomenon. This is usually done by young migrants in their teenage years. Although claims made by the cases point to looking for a job or contracting a job as reasons for migration, it is easy to diagnose that these group trips of the young are more of "adventuring" and "seeing other places" that returning migrants describe very favorably. Poor parents cannot afford to give these children a free vacation. They cannot even provide them with clothes and personal effects. So while "adventuring" and "seeing other places" is the triggering stimulus, migration is the means by which this can be attained. It even becomes more desirable to be able to mix adventure with experience. This is further made easy by the moral support the group can give to one another and the relatives and friends can provide in area of destination.

Returning young migrants are the agents of enticement for others to also migrate. They look well-dressed, have good stories to tell about what they have seen, enjoyed and done things that are not found in Bohol. Probably, some were more inclined to tell only the good stories and keep to themselves the obstacles they experienced in place of destination. Other young migrants send money home or buy chinaware for use in the fiesta; others send money home especially for the repair of their house.

Non-schoolers or those who go to school even when their parents are very poor find migration a convenient exit from the boredom of the barrio and the experience of economic hardships like delayed payments of cheap tuition fees. Their returning peers' stories are enough to kindle their imagination. The element of imitation from peers, the youth's natural inclination for adventuring and the established pattern of the young outmigration approved by parents work together in actualizing migration desires. "Experience trips" are often misunderstood as being economically motivated.

In the following cases it will be proven and illustrated that group migration are more for adventuring and getting the feel of the city or other places than for purely economic motivations.

Adriano began working for pay when he was 12 years old. His father was a fish vendor and his mother sold firewood or put up a sari-sari store to augment the household income. Even then, money was a constant problem in the family. After fourth grade, Adriano and his younger brothers engaged in shining shoes in Tagbilaran and shifted to selling sweepstakes later. The brothers gave their earnings to their mother to buy milk for their younger brother who had a harelip. Adriano had been working in Bohol for the sake of the family until he was 17 years old. One day in 1961, Adriano reported that he left with four girls and two other boys for Compostela, Davao. The job he left in Bohol was that of a highway laborer for which he earned ₱4 a day. He said "I was encouraged to go with the group because they said in Davao there is always work to do. I just wanted to go to a different place." To his dismay, work available in Compostela was agricultural in nature so he left with one of his companions and they proceeded to Davao City. He stayed with a "paisano" (kababayan) for one whole month while he

was looking for work. His stay in Davao brought him to several menial jobs such as being a houseboy and restaurant helper. These were short term because once he did not like them, he looked for another. Each time, he obtained work through the help of his long staying friends from Bohol. Adriano stayed in Davao for about three years until he met his wife who was from Leyte. That familiarity with Davao led him to go back two times. At time of interview, Adriano was 40 years old.

A case migrant's older sibling left home, like all other siblings after obtaining elementary education, at age 17. She left with two other women neighbors for Cotabato. Her companions had been to Cotabato before. After a short while, the three proceeded to Davao. Antonia reports that in her barrio, it has been the common practice for young ones to migrate. The remaining residents are mostly the elderly and young children in school. This was the same observation of Antonia's mother, a native of the place.

Rogelio was in second year high school when he quit school. He is the eldest of nine children of a farmer and a dressmaker. At home, the most common occupation is farming and young children leave the barrio allegedly to earn cash to buy items for their personal needs that their parents could not provide. The homecomings of the young and old alike during the fiesta give the young stayers the impression that life outside Bohol must be prosperous. When those who leave return home, they look much better. Witnessing this occurrence, Rogelio felt that there must be a way out of his unhappiness with schooling. "I could not put the lessons into my head," he reported. His mother who has been used to the outmigration of young children permits her children to leave home. She said, "My children are timid... I permit

them to migrate to dispel their ignorance... When they are asked to buy something from the nearby store, they go by the coconut field rather than on the road." In June, 1978, with about 10 friends in the neighborhood, Rogelio headed for Cagayan de Oro. One of them knew that there was a need for masons in a construction firm in Cagayan. He reported there were no problems there because they had free housing and he had his "paisanos" at work. When his friends went home the next year, Rogelio proceeded to look for his uncle in Davao. He got into a similar job there. He said of Davao, "It looks like it was lively there and you don't run out of work." Rogelio do not send money home when he works away. He buys clothes and other personal things instead. When he went home, it was with the intention of attending the town fiesta but he was not permitted to go back to Davao. He was made to work on the farm. The first time he left home, he was called back through a letter because he was needed in the farm. "Anyway, he had already experienced how it was to be away from home," his mother reported. Now that Rogelio had tried several migrations he thinks that "it is better to stay here at home because then we do not feel homesick. If there is no job here, it is alright; there when jobless, it is difficult." If that was the case why did he go away? He answered simply, "I wanted to see the place."

A young migrant from a fishing village who was very curious about the city outside Bohol started to notice the bad temper of her employer after she had stayed for one year and after having seen two cities. The novelty of the city wears off and leads to return home.

## RETURN AND REPEATED MIGRATION

Movements from rural-to-urban areas are not single, permanent moves. The several cases cited earlier have demonstrated this. The migration histories from the household survey have even shown this.

Most studies view return migration in a static basis. Return home is seen as the end of a migration process. It is least likely to be looked upon as a temporary action and as a part of a complicated, continuous process.

The extent of repeated moves from the city to the rural place of origin is thought to be related to scant employment opportunities in the area of origin. Campbell and Johnson (as cited in Costello) advanced the idea that return migration will be least to areas marked by few employment opportunities. This proposition does not apply in the present study in that there have been frequent moves or return home observed of most migrants to their economically depressed province of origin. Hawley considers repeated or shuttling migrations as a coping mechanism of the migrant who finds the break with the past not easy and the village a refuge. This goes on until such time when the migrant will have successfully established himself in the city. This observation partly holds for the present study in that homesickness can be a valid reason for one's return. However, for those holding white collar jobs who have stayed on in Cagayan de Oro, this does not apply. The shuttlers are service workers engaged in temporary jobs that allow them to come and go around the time of the fiesta or planting or harvesting time in Bohol. Chapman's shuttling movements are explained in terms of the economic-social factors that cause a person to move temporarily away for wage employment and return because the community of origin is home -- where



his kin and ethnic group are rooted. Trager's study has shown that migrants to the city do not cut off ties with the home and that there is some possibility of their moving back home. In a study of return migrants in Indonesia, Hugo (1981) found temporary migrations as involving a separation of a male householder and the rest of his nuclear family and most of the wider family unit.

Mainly because of the strong kinship ties of the Boholano, migrants return to Bohol after a contracted job is finished, after having been bored and sick for home, when a wife is about to deliver, and when the fields are ready to be planted. For migrants who had had experienced several shuttling moves to and from Bohol since teenage years for various short-term employments, return home concludes that one migration. This return, however, is not the end of the migratory behavior of the Boholano. After the fiesta, when many Boholanos depart for new employments or to resume work, the returnee again feels the urge to leave. He goes off again. Others get the opportunity again when aunts or uncles visit and hire them. The scatter of several relatives who have businesses in the towns makes it very easy for the migrant to go away often.

Shuttling migration in Bohol may be explained by the fact that its migrants are predominantly young. Being so, they perform several migrations before being able to decide what it is they want in or from life. Moreover, the close ties among the kinsfolk which is evidence in the preference for kin in employment leads them back home where their heart remains. Several case migrants were surprised to hear the question: "what led you to return home?" They stared as though the investigator were stupid. The natural answer has been "It is my home, where my parents are, my place of birth."

The series of moves a migrant performs is very interesting to follow. Three illustrations are shown in Figures 5-7.

From the illustrations, several observations can be made. In the case of migrant Abundio Palmitos, he had completed nine migrations -- outmigrations and immigrations or return to Bohol -- during a span of 11 years. He started outmigrating at age 13 and at interview date, he was already 24, was recently married, and had stayed in a town east of Cagayan de Oro City where he and wife peddled small items in the market place. Abundio gravitated from Bohol to Cagayan (where he obtained his first employment) and the nearby towns like Claveria and Tagoloan, as well as to Leyte where the family had a textile store before and where his uncle also had his own and for whom he worked for one year.

His reasons for return varied with timing. His first job of five years as salesboy at a textile store of an uncle in Cagayan tired the young migrant, so he returned to rest home. His stay for one year, however, was not an idle one as he worked in a cousin's tailoring shop almost immediately after he ran out of money which was not long after his arrival home. The second outmigration -- even when he was employed in Bohol -- followed one year later, at the request of his uncle, conveyed through a letter. From Baybay, Leyte, he returned home. Then he went back to Cagayan where his work brought him to Claveria then Tagoloan. When Abundio was asked whether he would continue to live in Tagoloan, he noted that he was still observing if his small business will thrive there. Otherwise, he would have to look for a better place where his family could stay but not necessarily permanently. He may opt to return to Bohol again where his folks are. Might this case be a fulfillment of the proposition of Hawley's?

In the case of Rolando in Figure 6, he completed eight outmigration and immigrations in 10 years. Like Abundio, he also started working away from home at age 13. Rolly's moves, like those of Abundio always ended in coming home. His last move was a return home where he had married a Boholano and tried his hand at farming while saving up to start a small business. Like his father when he was a young husband, Rolly indicated he might go away again to earn cash in order to build their own home. Presently, the couple lives with Rolly's parents.

The third case is of an adult who had been away many times from Bohol but who -- despite the long years he spent away in Cagayan due to the war in the 40's-- ended up residing and raising his family in Bohol.

From the three cases, it became clearer that one outmigration becomes complete with a return home. While reasons for the moves were no longer shown, from the detailed accounts made in the previous sections, it became clear that the socioeconomic factor seems to be the explanation for the moves. The role of kin in destination and origin is very strong and is, in fact, the initiator in the move. Without the aunt's getting the migrant for employment, the migrant would have stayed home as his parents would not let him go away without making sure that their son was in safe hands. The first experience catalyzes his life for other moves that later becomes a habit in adjustment to his economic needs. But being away does not mean breaking ties with the roots at home. Bohol is home for the businesswoman who is now conducting business in Cagayan. She goes home weekly to visit her retired husband who now keeps the house and farm he had left for the whole duration of his active life away from Bohol. Old age becomes a determinant in one's permanent return home.

Figure 3. An Illustration of Temporary Moves and Return Home  
The Case of Abundio Palmitos, from 1969 to 1980.

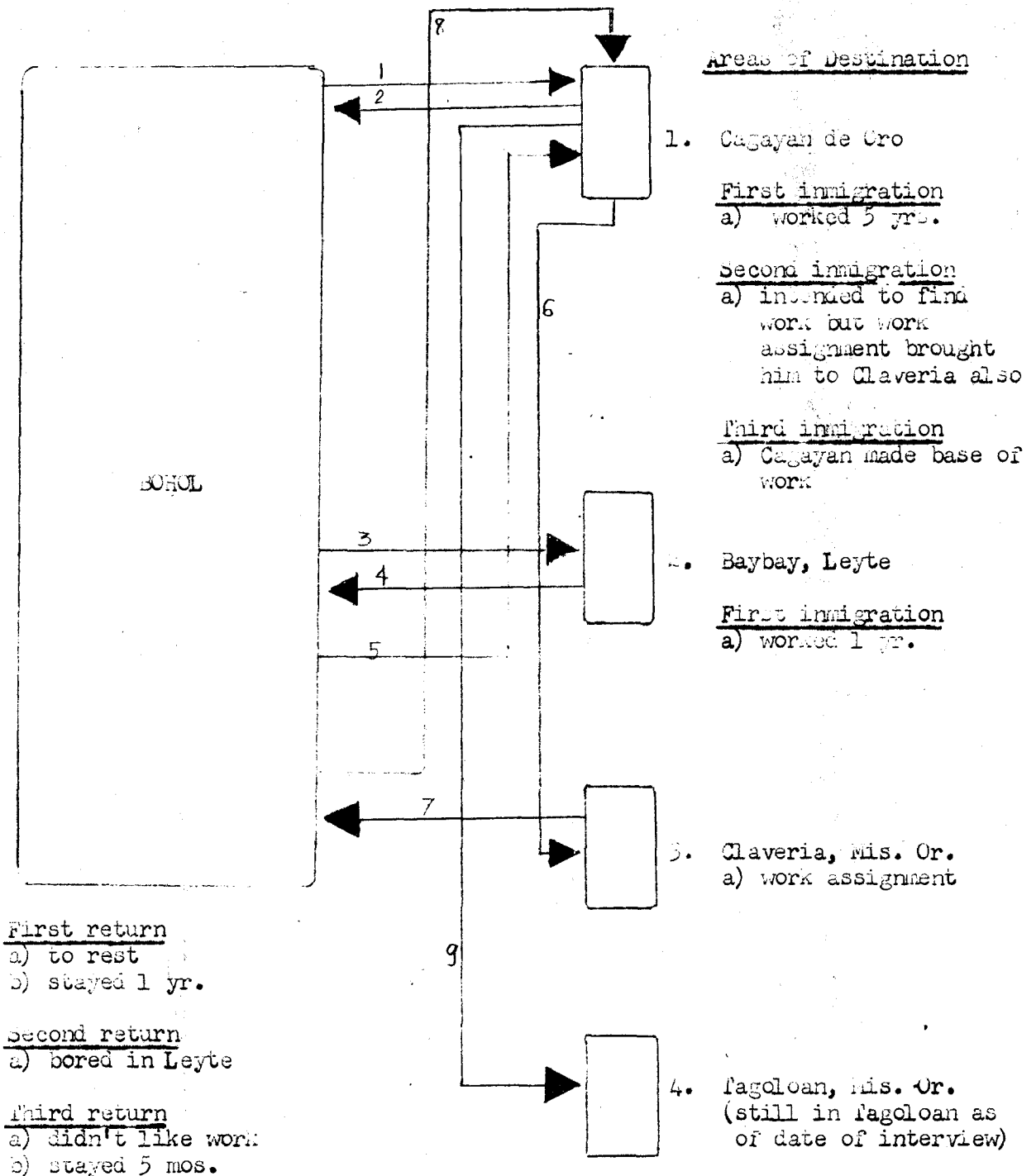
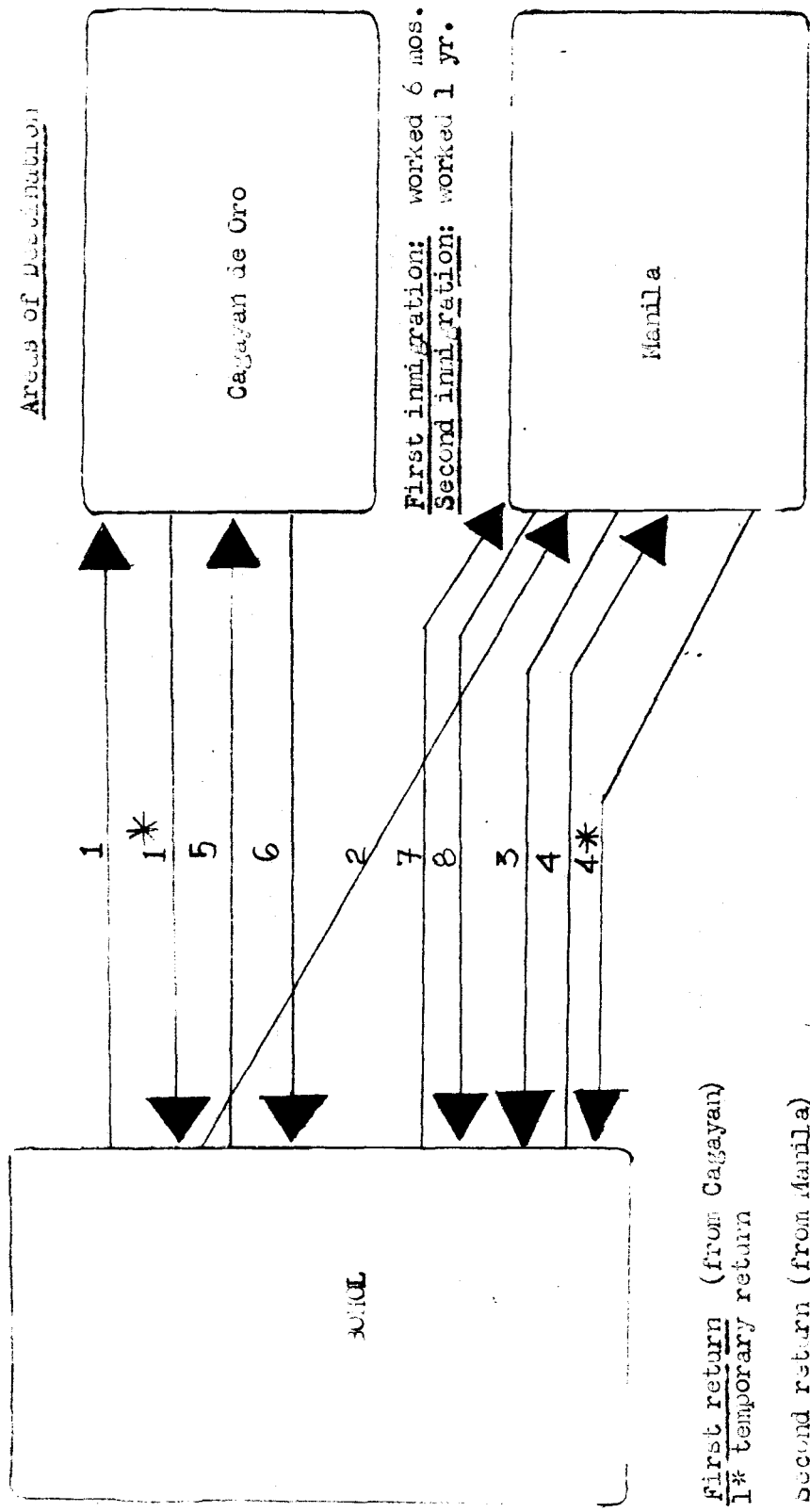


Figure 8. An Illustration of Immigration, Temporary Return and Return Home  
The Case of Romulo Rioses, 1968-1979.



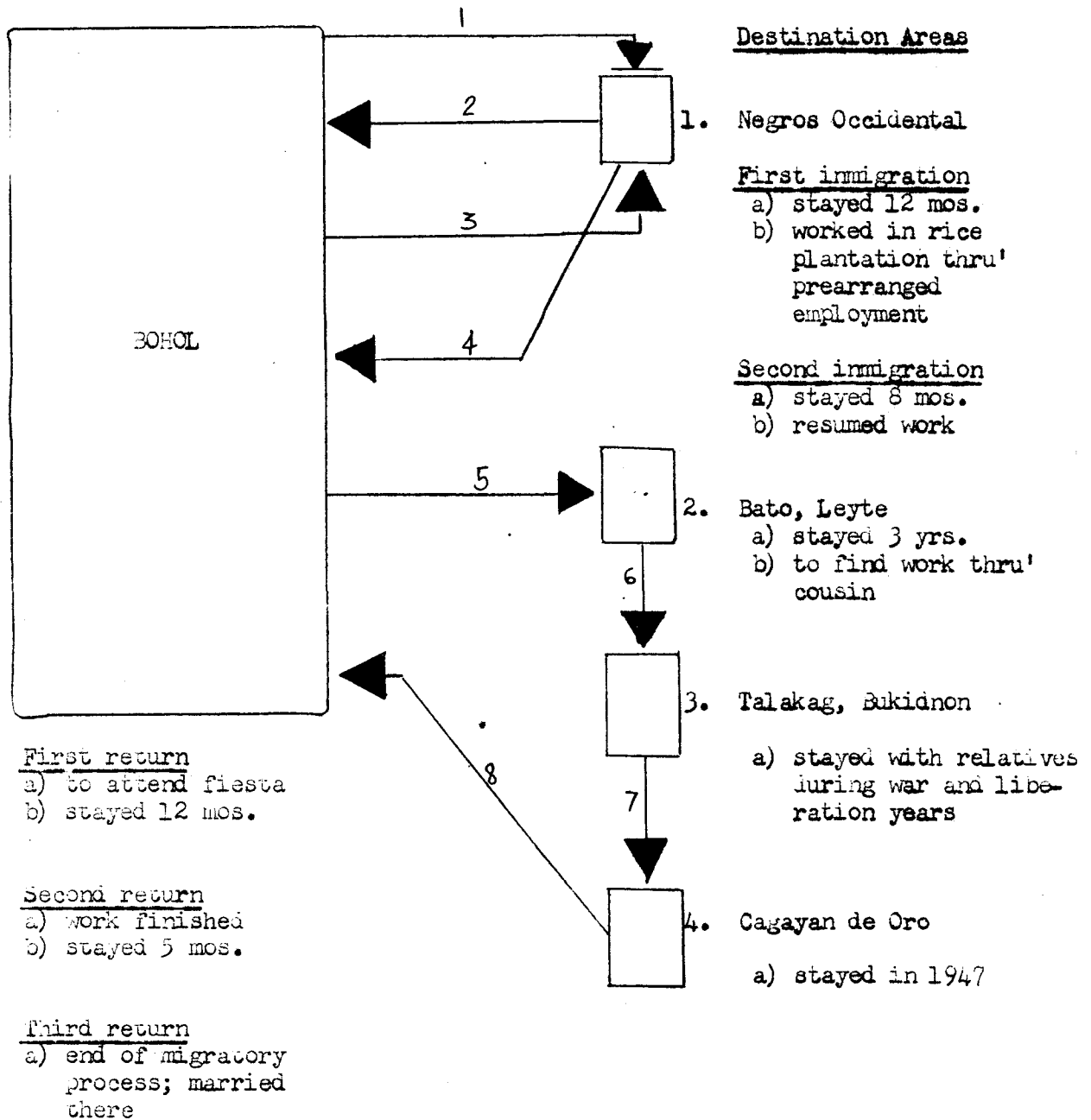
First immigration: worked 6 mos.  
Second immigration: worked 1 yr.

First return (from Cagayan)  
1\* temporary return  
Second return (from Manila)  
stayed 1 mo. but with intention  
to stay 3 mos. or more  
Third return (from Manila)  
4\* temporary return  
Fourth return (from Cagayan)  
short return but with intention  
to stay 3 mos. or more  
Fifth return (from Manila)

First immigration : helped sister 1 yr.  
Second immigration : worked 2 yrs.  
Third immigration : worked 2 mos. but  
with intention to stay 3 or more mos.  
at time of arrival

Figure 7. An Illustration of Temporary Moves and Return Home

The Case of Marcelino Dumalag, Father of Case Migrant, from 1933-1947.



PERCEPTIONS OF PULL FACTORS OF A PLACE, GREATEST  
NEEDS OF PLACE OF ORIGIN, COMPARISON OF LIFE  
IN BOHOL AND THE CITY AND IMPACT OF OUT-  
MIGRATION UPON THE MIGRANT

The above perceptions are important influences in one's deciding to migrate or stay. If an individual thinks that economic upliftment is a priority in life and can be attained in the city, for instance, and that his village could not offer it, he is likely to give fulfillment to his desire for economic betterment through outmigration. After some experience in the city, however, this may change the migrant's previous notions. Whether he found them to be illusions or hard realities, his further movements are likely to be affected. It is in this context that this section will discuss the above topics.

It appears that perceptions of pull factors of a place have been well formed only after the migrant had gone out of the province. It is, in short, a summary of his experience. This perception is inter-related with his comparisons of life in the city and his home province as well as the impact the migration has done to him. In this situation, it is difficult to divorce the migrant's ideas on the different aspects mentioned above.

Pull Factors

Generally, the answers obtained about what the pull factors were point to the availability of jobs in the city that give cash income but this does not end there. Bohol is seen as a permanent residence for most because it is "home," the "place of birth," it is where their "parents are." Returnees who had returned and planned to marry shortly after interview, had intimated their

desire to migrate again to Mindanao in order to save for the building of a house and support the family. But the wife and children will be left in the home province. This continues the process of temporary but repeated moves in the future.

The attraction of home is also due to some activities that are unique there. For instance, the "bayanihan" type of doing agricultural activities as compared to individualistic pursuits in the city has pulled a farm boy back home. The fiesta celebration, the liveliest celebration of the year, is also an attraction for most migrants to return home. But for most, the relatives and the home are the strongest drawing power.

#### Greatest Needs of Community of Origin

Does one's perception of the needs of his community of origin have some bearing upon one's decision to migrate? The responses indicate that the greatest perceived need of the barrio is largely infrastructure such as construction of barrio roads to facilitate comfortable travel to the highway; construction of a barrio hall, a health center or market; construction of water systems to replace unsanitary dig wells and unreliable rainwater; and installation of electricity. Other material needs cited were medicines for common illnesses like cough and colds. It is also interesting to note that most case migrants had mentioned as equally important needs of the barrio immaterial attributes like cooperation among the barrio people in any activity that is for the good of the barrio. This can be manifested by attending meetings, abiding by the laws of the barrio, and participation in group work such as construction of a barrio hall, etc. and beautification of the barrio. A few case migrants do not



feel that their community of origin needs any of the above. Tagbilaran City as well as some poblaciones that are progressive are felt to be sufficient in their amenities. A few others could not decide what it is that their place needs. While fishing or farming are the main occupations, large investments on these activities are not advisable because fish is not abundant, and the farms are in small, fragmented parcels. If industrial plants are to be located there, the shortage of water would be a problem. While this is one view by some, there are also those who think that more loans should be made available to farmers for better production. Better production means use of fertilizer and chemicals and irrigating the farms. Others indicated that loans made available to fishermen such as Biyayang Dagat should also be continued and increased.

What do these responses reflect? It appears that case migrants have not been pushed away by their community of origin because the needs cited do not coincide with the activity reported in area of destination. Again, the role of the kin that facilitates the move out from the province and the approval from parents become more important reasons for outmigration.

#### Comparison of Life in the City and in Bohol

What differences have case migrants found between life in the City and in Bohol after having tasted life in the City? Which one is preferable to them?

One case migrant summarized the responses of the rest by saying that if one were keen on having peace and quiet and the presence of the nearest kin, Bohol would be better but in terms of job opportunities, it is definitely worse than the city. This case migrant does not plan to live permanently in Bohol nor in the City because she leaves

it to her future husband's decision. She would only decide to stay in Bohol when she becomes a spinster. The rest of the cases have not also resolved which place is better to live or which life is better without modifying their answers because they are torn between the drawing power of the kin and friends in Bohol and the ample job opportunities in the City. So while they say that the desire to pursue more education has been partly fulfilled or there has been a constant exposure to new things and experiences in the City or that cash income cannot be readily had in Bohol, Bohol still finds first place in the case migrant's life. As a demonstration of this, the married ones leave their family home; the newly married establish themselves at home first before the husband decides to go out again to earn cash; those who are still in the City plan to go home after enough money have been saved for them to put up their own businesses. Once more the conflict of the economic factor with the social factor is evident. This can only be resolved by most by shuttling moves to and from Bohol.

#### Impact of Outmigration Upon the Case Migrant

What has the outmigration effected upon the migrant? The migrant has to decide whether the answers refer to material gains or immaterial ones.

The answers revolve around immaterial gains such as having been able to experience city life and its values; dispel ignorance and shyness. Case migrants feel better off in experience (job related or not) from their staying counter-parts. Financial independence as well as treating work in the city as a form of training in the skill of interest or as investment for the future are an interesting abstractions some case migrants have made. Fulfillment

of one's desire for more education which could not be done in Bohol because parents could not afford it and because opportunities for working students are lacking, if not absent in Bohol, are the impact students have cited.

Only two case migrants have found outmigration having a negative impact upon them and their family. One lives in a squatter area in the City, sharing the small living quarters of an uncle. It is dilapidated house and surrounded very closely by the same types of housing, with dirt under and around the houses. The migrant had no choice because he could not afford to rent a house. In the above condition, the two children and the wife of the case migrant often became sick, leading to the family's deciding to let them return to Bohol while the migrant continued with his work as a laborer around the marketplace. In Bohol, the wife has well-off farmer parents but the case migrant is not used to farm work. As for the present, he has no definite idea whether to live permanently in Bohol or the city. However much as he wants his family to live with him in the City, he could not convince them to do so because he could not provide them at the moment with a good house and good life. He feels miserable about this.

The other household outmigrants are suffering from intermittent labor-type jobs. Their only advantage over the case of the first family is that they are living in their newly bought house that is found in the neighborhood of Boholanos. The wife reported that they are lucky to have their Boholano neighbors who lend them rice that they sometimes cannot repay. If it were not for the parents' dream of a better education for their intelligent children, they would have been tempted to return. They pin their hope for a better life upon the magical title of Mindanao as the "land of promise." Meanwhile, the

wife does laundry work while the husband gets employment on and off with labor-type activities.

Unlike the households of origin, the case migrants have perceived the impact of their migration upon themselves as self-benefits that are, generally, immaterial.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

### Reasons for Migration

Important reasons for the frequent migration from Bohol (obtained from migration histories) were largely work-related. The same pattern was visible when moves being referred to were those of outmigrants to Cagayan de Oro and other Mindanao areas. Perceptions of pull and push factors by respondents as well as stayers were also based on economic considerations such as employment, farming, fishing, and business in place of origin. The case histories have shown that there was no question about the above information because these were the activities migrants were engaged in at place of destination. However, the moves were not made independently by the migrants but rather were a result of pre-arranged employments taking place in Bohol prior to outmigration. The ways in which these pre-arranged employments proceeded were of four types. First, is through personal visits to the household by the kin-employer to contract work for the teen-age member with his parents. Second, the kin-employer sends to Bohol a representative such as a nephew to recruit a young kin to work for him outside Bohol again through the prospective migrant's parents. Third, the recruiting kin-employers sends a letter to Bohol indicating his need for a worker in the textile store, for instance, also through arrangements with

parents in the case of young migrants. Fourth, there are recruiting or scout agents in Bohol who recruit Boholanos (neighbors especially) to work in Manila. The above methods of pre-arranged recruitment boil down to two implications. First, there is a clear preference for kin (like cousins, nephews and nieces) employees especially in the service sector like textile merchandize, domestic work, work at auto repair shops, tailoring, etc. The preference for kin in employment is mutual, that is, employees also prefer to work for relatives. Relatives include not only blood relatives but also god-parents, children of an old friend, etc. Second, preference for workers of the same ethnic group (that is, Boholano) is also evident in the recruitment of old neighbors' sons and daughters, etc.

The role kinship plays is also manifest in the relatives' calling first on the unemployed sibling, calling first on the unemployed sibling, cousin, niece or nephew whenever there is a vacant job available. An older sibling already established in the City, wires a jobless and non-schooling sibling at home once he has found a job for the latter. Young migrants who are keen to pursue more education in the City do not just leave the province and look for work in the City in order to be able to study at the same time or later but wait for the siblings to make the signal through telegrams or letters. Other migrants had no choice but come to the City because their parents conduct business there. Return migration, too, is largely due to the drawing power of the family and home in the area of origin.

The responses given in the survey, therefore, are post hoc rationalization and couched in generalities just as Cariño and Cariño (1976) had indicated in their study of Bicolano outmigrants. They give the impression that outmigration occurred prior to finding employment when in fact the reverse is true.

### Decision Making in Migration

In the introductory part of this report, it has been said that migration is a complex social behavior and that it can be triggered by many factors that are in complex interaction with one another. It is then assumed that reaching a decision to migrate or stay involves many considerations. From the case histories, migrants were found to come from households with a long history of outmigrations by the parents and siblings. The decision to migrate does not appear to be a complicated process. As soon as a relative comes looking for the prospective migrant, the parents who are the decision makers appear to make an agreement spontaneously with the kin-employer. The same happens in the case of an adult migrant. A very good example is that of a pedicab driver who made an on-the-spot decision to migrate despite the protestations of the wife when his brother came for him to work in Cagayan de Oro. It is advanced here that the household's long experience with making decisions related to moving, and the fact that the households are only responding to their kinship system's operation, as well as the lack of alternative choices in the home province with regard to engaging in income-generating activities are the reasons for the apparent lack of complication in arriving at the decision to move. But the role of kinship should be the more important reason. From the recounts of the case migrants, there had been no problems with adjustment in the new area of residence and work. The migrants had insulated themselves among the small Boholano community in the area of destination. Also, the element of "hiya" (shame) seems to lead a parent to let her young child of 13, for instance, to be hired by the visiting neighbor even if she thinks she is too young to be let alone away.

Hurting the feelings of the old neighbor would be considered a big offense against the "pakikisama" value that is strong among Boholanos.

The case histories have confirmed the survey data's indication that migrants are independent decision makers when it comes to outmigration.

### Shuttling Moves

The migration histories of the survey data have shown that, on the average, household members who were reported to have experienced outmigration had done so 1.7 times. The case histories have further shed light on these repeated moves. A typical case returnee who is 24.9 years old had experienced a total of 2.8 outmigrations whereas a typical non-return case migrant at age 26.2 had experienced 2.0 outmigrations. What are the reasons for these repeated moves? Returnees were mostly single males and of lower educational levels than non-return migrants and who at the time of return were a third students and a fifth unemployed. The repeated moves towards and away from home by the migrants have taken place because of the following reasons. Contractual jobs that usually begin after the celebration of the fiesta and ends days before it comes, lead the migrants home. In addition, most young migrants are called home home when a parent gets sick, or when they are needed in the farm or in the home. Also, there is a tendency for young, service worker migrants to rest after one employment before they go back again to try another. For those seeking higher education, they shuttle back and forth in response to their inability to obtain their wish at one move or even after several moves and which lead them to finally return home to enrol there. These happened to several returnees. Non-return migrants, on the other hand, are two-thirds employed and

almost one-fourth students. They have reasons to stay on because the types of job held are different from those of returnees. Self-employment in textile business as well as employment in white collar jobs (such as agriculturist, pharmacist, a permanent Promo Girls, etc.) are relatively enduring employments than working as service workers that are without much incentives and chance for promotion. The staying students are also relatively more secure than the returnees because they either hold jobs in the daytime or are being supported by older siblings. The few textile workers on the other hand, have ambition to save for their planned opening of stores as well as gain more experience in the art of selling and management (these salesgirls are given a free hand in running the stores without much supervision from their kin-employer).

The shuttling movements can be interpreted as a response to the need for short term jobs that are not easily available in agricultural Bohol on the one hand, and the drawing power of the home, the kinship ties, the responsibilities towards the home in the case of the married males, on the other. That the return streams are smaller to areas of scant employment opportunities such as Bohol, as proposed by Campbell and Johnson, does not prove applicable to Bohol migrants. It is simply because kinship rather than purely economic motives is the main cause of these moves. Even the non-return migrants have not completely considered the idea of living permanently in the City. Relatives of the non-returnees as well as the non-returnees themselves continue to come and go to Bohol. Sometimes, the goods and cash sent to parents through weekly travellers to Bohol serve as the city migrant's continual link with the home. This is consistent with Trager's (1981) proposition.



The Impact of Outmigrant Upon the Migrant

Unlike the staying household who views the household members' outmigration as largely an economic gain or loss for the household, the outmigrant himself views it in immaterial terms. Experience in city life which dispelled the migrants' shyness and diffidence, the training they underwent in the skills of interest to them are an interesting abstractions many case migrants have disclosed. Partial fulfillment of one's desire for more education in the City which could not be done in Bohol because their parents could not afford it and because opportunities for working students are lacking, if not absent, in Bohol are the impact students have cited.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter discusses the conclusions of the study, the relevance of the findings to policy and points out directions for future inquiry.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the context of this study, the case history method has advantages over the survey method. First, it was able to unravel the real reasons for outmigration from the net outmigration province of Bohol. Whereas the survey part of the study has established the economic factor as the prevailing single-explanatory reason, the case histories have demonstrated that it was only a summarized response to a dynamic process. The case histories have shown the pattern of pre-arranged employments taking place in Bohol before a migrant moves away. In the case of the young migrant, the contract is personally arranged by the prospective kin-employer and the parents. Parents do not allow their young children to leave home unless they know the employer personally. As for adult migrants, they make the contract with the visiting kin-employer.

Whether the migration was for the purpose of working or studying in the City, the kin is the initiator of the move. A sibling who has established himself in the City will look forward to the day when the younger ones will be able to follow him. Other cases had no choice but to go to the City because their parents have their business there. The type of jobs they hold tend to be the same as that of their parents.

The case histories have, similarly, shown that shuttling movements between Bohol and the City is a

common phenomenon. The case migrants who headed to Cagayan de Oro City in 1978 and 1979 were found to have experienced outmigration before as well as after Cagayan. This is one evidence of how flexible the case history method can be. It was not the objective of the study to explore this area; it surfaced but because of the flexibility of the approach in the interviews.

Returnees and non-return migrants had experienced an average total of 2.8 and 2.0 outmigrations, respectively. The returnees tended to have shuttled to and from Bohol more frequently than those who stayed in the City. The returnees tended to be single males and the non-returnees, single females. Occupationwise, white collar job holders are found only among those who remained in the City; the returnees have, generally been engaged in service jobs which lack incentives and hope for promotion. The only reasons migrants have remained in the City are the types of jobs they are holding--textile business and white collar jobs (Pharmacist, Agriculturist, etc.)--and the fact that some are in school, either supported by siblings or are working.

The fact that some migrants have stayed in the City does not guarantee they will stay there for life. One businesswoman's husband who had spent all of his productive years in the City had returned home to spend his last years in Bohol. A businessman crosses to Bohol weekly even if he has his residence in the City. As Trager (1981) said, the links with the home--which refers to the home community rather than solely to the household of origin -- is maintained while the migrant lives in the City. Remittances of goods and money reach the home community through weekly commuters to Bohol.

The staying migrants in the City look forward to one day when they can stay permanently in their community of origin.

On the whole, the Boholano migrant does not go to the City to find work but rather was brought there, sent for at the community of origin, or received a letter to the effect that he will be given a job by the kin. In place of origin, the migrant may or may not have a job but the offer of the kin seems enticing. Return home is also due to the drawing power of the kin. So, on the whole, the only reason massive outmigration, albeit shuttling and therefore, short and temporary moves, is due to the operation of the kinship system among Boholanos. While it may be true that the economic factor is a reasonable trigger, by itself it is not valid. The Boholano responds to the kinship system to which he is a part in his quest to satisfy his hunger for economic needs and for more education. As Chapman said, he responds to the conflicting forces of the economic and the social which he refers to the tribe. In the case of the Boholano, the pulling force is the kin at the destination and the home community at origin. Thus, he shuttles back and forth.

#### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

What do these findings suggest for policy making? The investigator does not discount the fact that Bohol is an economically depressed province. The survey respondents refer to it as slow in progress, lacking in work opportunities, and low in wages. Case migrants referred to water systems, good roads, electricity, etc. as a few of its greatest needs. Until such structures could be improved, Bohol would not be fit for industrial plants that, of course, require sufficient water supply. Only when the problem of water shortage is solved would

such type of economic activities be thought fit to be put up there. For the moment, small scale structures such as tailoring shops and the like into which many of the case migrants have fallen are the only recourse. In addition, educational opportunities which many of the case migrants came to the City for, should be made available through small scholarships for deserving students. High schools should also provide chances for deserving students to pursue secondary education through work. Or education for the college level should turn to agricultural interests so that the youth will stay where their training is needed.

Many studies have demonstrated how kinship operates in the migration of Filipinos. The utility of the kinship system in the migration of Filipinos should not stop there. In the context of the study, the mutual preference for kin employees and employers, the roles siblings and cousins play in providing information (through telegrams, letters, or personal visits) about vacant positions or job openings to kin at home should be applied to larger contexts. Policy makers should utilize this information and in fact it should be a strong basis in considering the dissemination of information about population resettlements and other forms of population redistribution.

Another important implication of the study for policy makers is the fact that constant shuttling moves from and into the area of origin rather than a complete break from it is the predominant pattern. Even for non-return migrants, link with the home is continuously maintained. The general notion that rural areas are depleted of its younger work force is thus not always true. For some, and perhaps for agricultural areas that have fairly good transportation facilities linking it to urban areas, there would rather be a periodic or seasonal ebb and flow of the work force. Hence a continual depression of a rural

area is an exaggeration or a misconception. In the allocation of opportunities, the policy makers should consider this underlying behavior of the work force in particular and the population, in general.

#### DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE INQUIRY

The case history method has shed light into the real reasons for outmigration from Bohol and has come up with information that was not originally thought of as having serious consequences. Such phenomenon as shuttling moves and the reasons behind this which boil down to the drawing power of the home is additional information which cannot be severed from the whole process of migration. Micro studies of this kind are called for in order to throw light on the misconceptions attached to migration within the county. It is hoped that the findings of this study would be replicated to provide hypotheses for further testing in later macro studies. As Chapman said "the identification of micro/macro linkages in human behavior demands sensitive studies of individuals and the varied contexts within which they are enmeshed and unashamedly inductive field research can yield, surprisingly, general conclusions, as the macroscale for one level of research with one set of conclusions becomes the macroscale for the next." Perhaps in the future, migration researchers might come up with a theoretical framework for analysis of migration that links the micro and the macro levels. This will only be made possible through a building up of current micro migration research such as the present one.

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## APPENDIX A

### Flavia and Lito (Non-returnees)

Flavia and Cristobal Cantones are natives of the town of Loon. They have nine children, three of whom are married. Of the single children, one is a graduate in Medicine, another in Pharmacy, and one is a secular priest. The two younger children are still in college. Lito, the sixth child, is an Agriculture graduate at Xavier University. Two of their married children are in the textile business in Cagayan. All of their children had been sent to college totally support by the textile stores of the family in Cagayan de Oro.

The story of the in-migration of Flavia and Lito to Cagayan de Oro was facilitated by the in-migration of Cristobal Cantones to Mindanao in 1939. He was single then when, he, along with other Boholanos, peddled clothings in selected Mindanao areas. That kind of merchandize was new then, so that there were few competitors. When Cristobal got married, he stopped peddling and tried selling his wares in a barong-barong or temporary makeshift store in the old location of the Cagayan market. He left his family in Loon but he paid them regular visits. In the 60's, Cristobal was able to rent a permanent space along J.R. Borja Street. As the years went by, this store prospered and he was able to put up two branches - one in the Cogon market and the other in the Carmen market. It was during the late 60's that Flavia stayed permanently in Cagayan to manage the other stores. In early 1980, the 20-year-old main store, where the family also had its living quarters, was burned down along with several others which were mostly owned by Boholanos.

At the time when Cristobal and Flavia were able to put up a permanent store, the family was divided into two groups. Some stayed with their father in Cagayan (who stayed from 1939 to 1974) for some years, the rest with their mother in Bohol, especially until their high school years (after which they went to Cebu or Manila in College). Even when the family's business in Cagayan had prospered, they had to maintain residence in Bohol. They cross weekly to Bohol, however. The reasons are that, they could not sever relations in Bohol where most of their

relatives are residing. Besides, they also have their farm of coconuts and a concrete house there.

After the long, arduous years of keeping business in Cagayan de Oro, Cristobal elected to return home to Bohol to retire in 1974. Since then, he has been working on their farm which he had long neglected, and has been raising a small livestock to keep himself busy. Flavia started to reside permanently in Cagayan in 1968 but she has made it a habit to go home very often - even weekly - as she could leave her stores to her helpers who all come from Loon.

Lito started to stay for long months in Cagayan in 1973, when he began attending college. Years before, he had been visiting Cagayan frequently. It was his mother who persuaded him to study in Cagayan in order to save a little because if he went to Tagbilaran or Cebu, food expenses would have been more expensive. At first, Lito did not have the enthusiasm to study in Cagayan because he felt he was an outcast, so alone, upon observing that students in Cagayan are generally outspoken and articulate in expressing their ideas. In Bohol, he was used to keeping his ideas to himself and only had the opportunity to be himself when he was with his close friends. Hence, in Cagayan, his main difficulty was to communicate effectively what was on his mind. To overcome his feeling of inferiority, he joined a fraternity and he observed closely the "language" of his classmates. His friends outside school who were Boholanos and whom he had known even since childhood, could not help alleviate his feeling of inadequacy in the midst of his classmates. But since he wanted to identify with them, he had to join them until finally he was caught up in the ways of his classmates.

Right after graduation, Lito was able to get a job. He had a friend who told him of an opening at the NGA Office in Cagayan. Through the recommendation of a cousin's friend who personally introduced him to the Project Agriculturist of NGA, he was accepted. At the start he was paid only ₱10 a day, without privileges. Presently, he is still of casual status but his pay is increased and he is entitled to all the privileges that the regulars are enjoying. Although he is contented with his job as a grains quality

checker, he keeps his ears open for better opportunities, that is, when he is assured that the opportunity is indeed more advantageous than the present position.

In Bohol, it is commonplace to get a position, especially in a government office, through a backer. His idea on this backing system is that it is rooted upon past political influences which has been carried over to the present. A politician would ask his friends, relatives, compadres, etc. to campaign for him and in return, at some future date, help the family get an employment. In Bohol this practice is difficult to eradicate since the place is small and everyone knows everybody else (therefore it is difficult to evade from the promises made in the past) and people there are closely knit.

Lito believes that if he stayed in Bohol, he would not progress, e.g., find a job. He says that chances for good jobs in Cagayan are better since most regional offices in Northern Mindanao are located there. If one is not ambitious, he would be contented to remain in Bohol but if he wants to lift himself from the rut, he would have to leave Bohol. Lito admits that he has already found what he was hoping to find there. For instance, he had completed a course in Agriculture and he found a well-paying job. Some of the things that he has learned to like there are discos, movies, and becoming an articulate communicator, the quality he admired about his classmates. But like his paisanos, Lito has remained soft-spoken.

Seeing commerce as a progressive occupation, he plans to get into business in the near future. In business, work and time scheduling are not routine and income is higher than when one is employed. The least he would put up is a sari-sari store but if he is able to save a greater amount of money for capital, he would put up a pharmacy or an agricultural supply store. In this kind of business, he can employ his sister who graduated in Pharmacy or obtain advice from an older brother who is practicing Medicine. The greater the capital, he said, the greater the income. He would not go into textile business like his parents and two brothers because too many businessmen have entered into this and the capital required is large.

Twenty-four-year-old Lito recounts that most businessmen in the town of Loon engage in textile business because long ago, this commodity was scarce in Mindanao and peddling was the system of selling. The Boholanos were employed to reach even remote areas. Since there were no competitors at the time, they made good money out of it. Then they were able to put up permanent stores. It is the usual practice for a Boholano who comes from Loon to raise his capital by working first as a helper or peddler before he puts up a stall. But these days this business is no longer as profitable as before because of the emergence of large superstores.

No matter how much he likes life in the city, Lito says he and his family could not leave Bohol completely. "We have a house there. My father who is ageing is taking care of our farm and he is raising a little livestock, too. Then, we faithfully celebrate the fiesta there." It appears that Bohol is regarded as a sanctuary where the old return to spend the apparently unproductive years in usefulness and serenity (as in the case of Lito's father). For other migrants, Bohol comforts them when they lose a job or are not successful in their life in the city. Lito mentions two things that may seem insignificant to others but are very dear to him which only Bohol could provide him with. These are: going with his childhood barkada around their place on a dry picnic, picking young coconuts and eating leisurely, without paying, under the coconut trees. He could not do these things in Cagayan, he declared. That is why he loves to visit his hometown during the summer months, when his friends also go home for reunions. As to the Boholano home-coming during fiesta celebrations, Lito has this to say: that it is a tradition; that these home-comings are fulfilled as an act of thanksgiving for the patron saint's help in the good conduct of their business away from Bohol or for giving them good health the whole year round. Home-comings are also ways of meeting with long time friends and relatives who only see each other once a year, etc. When one returns home during the fiesta, he has to offer a candle to the patron saint and say his prayers of thanks (for whatever favor he was granted). The returning Boholano does not tire in finding delight in the ballo, drama, community dances, and games, that are presented during the evening of the bespiras and also on the day of the feast.

For Lito, the needs of his barrio of origin are as follows:

1. Water - the main source of drinking water is rainfall; in the municipal poblacion, there is a big tank that reserves rainwater for the whole town for the summer months but this is grossly insufficient. The government ought to make a survey in every barrio in order to put up artesian wells in the appropriate places so the residents who cannot afford big water tanks will no longer have to go to the sea (there are shores in Bohol that have springs and could be availed of during low tide) to wash their clothes. This is especially helpful to the very poor. Lito commented that it is less difficult to live without electricity than without water.
2. Cooperatives - For instance, the whole barrio will organize themselves and put up a common fund. Each member contributes ₱2, for instance, and at the end of each month, the members will draw lots as to who can avail of the fund but the contribution has to be continuous. Or it may serve as an emergency fund so that even when a family does not have money at time of a member's death, for instance, they will have money to spend for the occasion.
3. Community projects like building of infrastructure such as basketball courts. It is important since it is one way of making the barrio lively and attractive. This may even lead to opening of businesses suitable for the barrio.

## APPENDIX A

### The Fuentes Siblings (Non-Returnees)

The Fuentes children - Bonifacia, Benjamina, and Urbano - come from the prosperous coastal municipality of Talibon, Bohol. Their mother sells dried and salted fish in the town market while their father farms a six-hectare land in a nearby barrio. The farm produces rice, corn, camote, and peanuts, all for consumption.

The Fuentes couple has eight children. Excluding the three who are now in Cagayan, two are working away, one is married and is living in the province of Bukidnon while two are staying with them in Poblacion Talibon. Of those working away, one is in the navy and is assigned to Palawan. He is the second child. According to a younger sister, he helps pay for the education of his younger siblings. The other, the third child, is managing a tailoring shop in Davao which is owned by the family's neighbor in Talibon. Of the two children living with their parents, one is a senior in high school and the other has dropped out from first year high school. Both children had lived in Cagayan for one year but had to return home because the youngest (a boy) quit school and was considered as being not useful in Cagayan by the eldest sibling, and the sixth child (a girl) was replaced by the seventh for the reason that Bonifacia needed a male member in the house to do the heavier tasks.

The Fuentes children came to Cagayan at different times. It all started in 1976. It was at the town fiesta of Talibon that an auntie who had permanently resided in Cagayan and was operating a tailoring shop came to Bohol for a reunion. She asked permission from the parents of Bonifacia to take her to Cagayan to spend the rest of the summer vacation there. Bonifacia was permitted to do so, since she would have to come back before classes begin. However, once she was in Cagayan, her aunt lured her to work in the tailoring shop as a receptionist and she proceed with her studies at the same time. Impressed by the novelty of Cayagan de Oro and its peacefulness (she says Cagayan does not give her the feeling that it is a city if she compares it to Cebu), she was delighted to accept the proposal even

before seeking the permission of her parents. She learned that they were against the idea but her resistance was stronger than theirs. So she worked in the tailoring shop as a receptionist until she completed second year in college. On her third year, she found work as a promogirl, through the information from a classmate-friend, while continuing her studies in the evenings. Up to the present she holds the same job but is employed by a different company.

When she graduated in college, she volunteered to pay for the education of a younger sister and a brother. So in the summer of 1979, Benjamina and Urbano migrated to Cagayan de Oro. Since then, they have been renting a room where they sleep, cook, and receive their visitors. With the room goes a small space at the front side of the house which they use as a sari-sari store. It is easy for Bonifacia to put up the store since she gets her goods from the company she works for. While Bonifacia goes to work, her younger brother and sister take turns in watching the sari-sari store and in keeping house. The younger brother attends day classes and the sister goes to night school for her secretarial course.

Bonifacia, aged 26 years, takes the responsibility of providing for all the needs of Benjamina and Urbano (ages 20 and 16, respectively). Except for rice and other staple food that are produced from their farm, Bonifacia supports the day-to-day expenses and house rental from her salary and commissions as well as from gains of her store. She does not feel this as a burden, though, because she is interested in the education of her younger siblings. It was she who chose to let her two siblings attend school in Cagayan because it would be expensive to send them elsewhere.

The Fuentes siblings are born to natives of Talibon, Bohol. Their parents outmigrated to Davao in 1950, hoping to establish residence there. At the time they were still childless and yet they felt the pressure of living with a married brother who had many children. With their father depending only upon peddling of mats for income, and their mother helping keep the house, the newly married couple found life in Davao expensive. If they had their own house they could have stayed on as they could economize on their expenses.



But since they could not afford to build a house, they decided to return to Talibon on the third month after their arrival.

In the years that followed, when the babies were coming and the older ones were starting to go to school, their father tried switching from farming to travel-selling of hats, mats, and empty bottles to Cebu City every now and then. This was to earn cash income. He stopped only when many others imitated him in the same business and especially when his wife became ill.

Bonifacia noted that in Cagayan there are plenty of Boholanos so she feels that it is just like living in Talibon. In school, she had observed that many are working students who mostly work in Boholano tailoring shops as receptionists or clerks. She says further that that "Cagayan does not seem to be a city because it is not crowded. In the past, I have been to Cebu and I found it very crowded with people. You cannot walk fast no matter how much you hurry. In Cagayan, when you go marketing, it can be done quickly, you do not arrive late for the office." As for form of recreation, she and siblings occasionally see a movie, pay visits to friends in the city, or go on picnics. Their friends here in Cagayan are not limited to Boholanos.

When she was alone in Cagayan, she regularly went home to Talibon. The visits were during the first two days of November and the fiesta month which is May. Now that two of her siblings have come to live with her in Cagayan, it is her mother who pays them a visit.

Possibly, in the coming school year, Urbano and Roquena (the sixth child who is a senior high school and is presently living in Talibon) will change places because the latter will start college next year. They could not all come together in Cagayan as their living quarters cannot accommodate them.

Bonifacia has no definite idea of whether to reside permanently in Cagayan however much she likes Cagayan and its many job opportunities. She leaves it to luck. If she gets married in Cagayan and finds a permanent job, she will stay here. But if she loses her job and does not find another, she will return to Bohol and help in the farm.

She would rather that she find a secure job first before she settles down. In fact, presently, she has applied for secure positions at a financing corporation and at two local banks where she could also put to practice what she had learned in school. The only interesting thing that she does in her present job is writing reports. She craves to use her knowledge in accounting. She had even tried enrolling in a CPA review class but the class was swindled by the instructor. She has not lost hope, though, in becoming a certified accountant in the near future.

For her a successful person is one who has graduated from a course through hard work and who has found a job. She thinks that the place is a contributing factor in one's attainment of success - someone who lives in a secluded mountain may somehow attain success but the probability is not as high as when one lives in a place of good opportunities.

Bonifacia mentions water and electricity as important needs of her place of origin but these are now made available to residents of Talibon.

## APPENDIX A

### The Nuez Family (Non-returnees)

The Nuez family comes from Barrio Bayongan, San Miguel, Bohol. They are residing in Barrio Gusa where Boholano migrants have formed a small community. The family of six lives in a small house about 20 square meters with nipa roofing, bamboo floors, and wooden walls. In going up the sala, one has to pass through the kitchen. The sala leads to the only bedroom. The Nuez family bought this house at ₱300 in 1979. The year before that, they rented this house at ₱40 per month. The lot on which the house is constructed is not rented.

Rodrigo Nuez, the household head, migrated to Cagayan in 1975 and the rest of the family members followed in 1978.

Rodrigo is 37 years old, had completed four years of schooling, and was born in Ubay, Bohol. He is the third of the six children and the eldest son. As far as he could remember, his family moved only once within Bohol. When he was single, he did not have a chance to move about even within Bohol because "lunod patay ako sa trabaho tungod kay ako ma'y kinamagulangan nga anak lalaki." (I was dead serious in working, being the eldest son in the family.)

Dionesia Nuez is 39 years old, has finished five grades in the elementary and is mother to six children - four girls and two boys. She was born in San Isidro, Leyte and got married in San Miguel Bohol. When she was single, she used to come to Bohol to visit her relatives especially during harvest seasons. It was during these visits that she met Rodrigo.

Of the six children, two are not living with the family. The third child was left to the care of her paternal grandparents in Bohol. She is presently in grade six. The second child is a working student in a neighboring barrio and attends night high school in Gusa. The oldest attends the same school and is of the same year level but he attends day classes. Two are in grade school and the youngest is only a baby.

Presently, Dionesia does some laundry work in the neighborhood because her husband, Rodrigo, has been fired from his full-time job as truck driver since 1978. Since then, Rodrigo has been forced to picking up short-term jobs such as driving "extra" a passenger jeepney (which oftentimes disappointed him because his earning is barely enough for the jeep rental), carpentry work and other odd jobs that he usually did within the neighborhood. At the time of interview, he was hired by the owner of the lot they are occupying to cut some coconut trees without prior arrangement as to how much he will be paid per day or per tree. He soon learned that he was to receive ₱15 per two coconut trees he fell (I learned this during a call back interview). Like his wife (who helped him in the task), he was disappointed with the pay and was planning to quit.

In Bohol, Rodrigo was a tenant on three hectares of "umaw" (infertile) land planted with rice and cassava. One-fourth of the produce went to the farm owner. He used to borrow fertilizer which he paid with palay during harvest time. They also borrow the carabao and in return service the owner when their turn of planting comes. In between farm work, Rodrigo worked as tractor driver of a vast farm in their barrio owned by a congressman of Cebu. The last time he worked there, he was paid ₱7.65 a day, this amount still to be deducted for SSS and Medicare contributions. During planting and harvesting seasons, Rodrigo worked as laborer for other farmers after his own farm work has been done with. His wife, Dionesia, also did the same but not as much as her husband because of the children and because she also made mats and hats which she sold during "tabo" (market day which is every Tuesday). During weekends and vacation time, the older Nuez children labored in other farms in order that they can buy their own clothes and school supplies.

Rodrigo and Dionesia did not feel comfortable with the kind of livelihood described above because it provided them only with their basic needs such as food and clothing. They have dreams for their children whom they describe with pride as "mga utukan ug interesado kaayo" (intelligent and very interested to finish school). The barren farm which depends on rain for water becomes even more unproductive

with long dry months and cannot afford them their needs other than food and clothing. If Rodrigo wanted to farm a larger area, he could not because since the implementation of the new land reform code, land owners around their place no longer allowed their lands to be tenanted. Already aware of the good work opportunities in Cagayan de Oro from personal visits here in the previous years and being updated of the present state of job availability by his uncle, he decided to leave his barrio and come to Cagayan to get permanent employment. This way, he thought, he could support the education of his growing children. He describes Cagayan de Oro as "maayo ang panarbaho" (having good job opportunities) "nga angay kanako" (that suit my qualification). He left his tenanted farm to his brother.

Upon arrival in December 1975, he lived with his uncle who at the time was also a truck driver. He had very little money left after the fare was paid. He ate with his uncle's family for free. It took him five months to find a job because he was not a high school graduate and he did not get help from his uncle or others. Because it was his ambition to drive a truck, he painstakingly waited for the opportunity to come. He did not have thoughts of going home. After a while, he borrowed money from Boholano friends in order that he could go on with his search for a job. After five months, he was employed as a lumber hauler throughout Mindanao. It lasted for six months only because the company did not get the biddings afterwards. He was paid 10 percent of the amount of the load and this earning took him one or two days, depending on the distance of travel. The second job was still of the same nature but routes were as far as Jasaan and Camp Philips only. His first employment led to this second one because he was already personally known by the truck owner. He earned ₱12.60 a day. His third employment lasted for three years. He drove a Mercedes truck hauler throughout Mindanao, hauling NGA stuff at first then cement and flour later. If the trip was as far as Iligan, he was paid ₱25 per trip; if to Bukidnon or a farther province, he got 80 percent per 100 kilos of the load. In May 1979, his third year on the job, his truck fell on the side of the road in Mangima, Bukidnon, giving him a four-inch long cut on

the head and destroying some of his cargo. The accident was caused by the explosion of the clutch but this did not seem acceptable to the truck owner, leading him to refuse Rodrigo issuance of a clearance after he was dismissed. This non issuance of clearance led Rodrigo to feel insecure about finding a similar job because he believes that each time he looks for a job, he will be asked to secure a clearance from his previous employer. At the time after the accident, Rodrigo was asked to do labor instead of continuing with driving. But since his wound on the head was still raw and caused a pulsating ache, he refused the offer. The last salary he received on the job was supposed to be ₱1,100 but he paid half of it to the lawyer he hired in his claim for free medical services from his boss. While he lost half of the money, he also failed to get free medication.

When he got on the first job, Rodrigo regularly sent money home. But after a year, his wife was worried when he stopped sending money for seven consecutive months, although Rodrigo told her in letters that he was out of job because his truck was overhauled. His father, with whom Rodrigo's family shared their problems, did not believe Rodrigo. He was convinced that Rodrigo was fooling around with a woman which some Boholano husbands are likely to do when they leave their families in Bohol. Afraid that living away from Rodrigo would end their hopes of putting their children through high school, Dionesia decided to bring her family to Cagayan. She pawned nine coconut trees for ₱100 to her sister and used the money for fare to Cagayan. They brought all their things and their house was left to the care of Rodrigo's brother. (Later, the house was burnt down accidentally.) The first week after their arrival, the Nuez family stayed with Rodrigo's uncle. Afterwards, they looked for a house to rent and found the house that they are presently occupying.

When she first arrived, Dionesia worked only in the house because her husband had resumed work. After a year, however, that is in May 1979, her husband was fired from his three-year-old job after the accident mentioned earlier. Dionesia then had to do laundry work in the neighborhood. Since then, life has been very difficult for them. They are fortunate, though, that they have family relatives around who lend them rice without asking for payment. This difficulty was

understood by the second child who is presently in her junior year in high school. She convinced her mother that she'll work as a house helper while she carries on with her study. She thought she could maintain her honors (she was first honors at the time) this way because she would be eating nutritious food while away from home. Dionesia and Rodrigo were not in favor of their child's decision although they realized her good intentions. The parents are strong about disciplining their children. If the children lived out then their parents would not be able to correct any of their misdeeds. However, much as they disliked it, they had to let their daughter go in order that she can continue her studies. The parents noticed that it's different here because "wala'y prebilibiyo dinhi, dili man ta kahangyo, dili man sila mohatag og promisory note" (they do not give allowance for those who could not pay tuition on time, we cannot ask them for an extension because they do not allow promisory notes). In their place in Bohol, promisory notes are allowed.

Finding little time to study, Lorenza's honors dipped one step - from first to second - and this hurt the pride of her mother. She always told her child's landlady that she is taking Lorenza back. After the December vacation, she will go home, according to her parent's wishes despite the hardship of her family. Her mother was very keen on finding work around the neighborhood just so they could afford the school expenses of two high school children. The mother's comments regarding the effect of the work on her daughter's grades: "Buotan man sila, Day. Pinangga man siya kaayo sa iyang amo pero kay wa man siya'y pahuway, gimenor man karon and iyang utok. Ming-second na man lang siya. Mao nang akong gikabugnawan. Maayo man kanang nia sa balay kay kitang guinikanan makamao man mosabot sa gibati sa akong anak -- ato mang papahuwayon kung naa'y exam" (they are very good (referring to her landlady). They love her but because she has no rest, her brain is not functioning well. She only got second place. That's what cooled me off with her working. It is better here at home because we, parents understand how our children feel - we give them rest when they have exams.)

Among the values that parents teach their children, are the following. 1) To be able to learn how to cook, farm, weave mats and hats so that when they grow up they will have these trades to equip them for a living. 2) To excel in class - it is useless for their parents to send them to school and they not be bright. 3) To be courteous, obedient, and industrious. If they do not know any work or are a burden to society, they are dirty. That's why the parents, as much as possible, do not want their children to be working students. What parents teach their children cannot be learned from other people because these people do not think and feel the way parents do. Unlike other parents back home who are only content with such ambitions as having their children earn a grade just enough for a person to be able to write his name and owning wristwatches or clothes, Dionesia and Rodrigo are an epitome of parents who look beyond the present.

For Dionesia, a place would attract her if it is peaceful, if the neighbors are compassionate. Both she finds in her current residence. For her husband, Rodrigo, an attractive place would be one with good employment opportunities suitable for his skills. He dreams that his skills will also be learned by his sons when they grow up. Despite the present state of their life, Rodrigo firmly believes that they will manage because he will keep searching for a job. For him the title Mindanao has been famous of, that is, "Land of Promise" holds a magic: that if only one tries hard, he will find the promise of a good future.



## APPENDIX A

Diomedes, Single, 17  
Years old (Returnee)

Diomedes Madanguit of Poblacion Balilihan is currently in fourth year high school. At the age of 17, he is decidedly a responsible person who has set his mind to priesthood. The sixth of 11 children, Diomedes does not consider poverty a hindrance to the fulfilment of his childhood dream of becoming a priest. He has the strong ambition of a young man matched with the calm and determination of an adult. In November 10, 1980, he took a college admission test for the Passionist order (a member of a Roman Catholic order devoted chiefly to missionary work and retreats). He first heard of the Passionist Order when he attended the ordination of his brother in Marbel, Cotabato. He said that this order is rare here in the Philippines and since it involves mission work, he chose it. If in case he does not pass the entrance test, he will have to wait for the next year's examinations. He is not willing to enter another order nor take an alternative profession whereas his friends who also took the examinations have alternative courses to take in mind. If he makes it in the examinations, he plans to leave for Cotabato immediately after graduation. As of interview date, he was not yet sure who will pay for his education but he was hoping for the possibility of getting a scholarship. If he cannot, then he leaves the decision to his parents and his brother, the priest.

Presently, Diomedes has seven brothers going to school, five being supported by his parents: two are in college, the remaining three are in public grade school. A high school sibling is a COCOFED scholar, another is sent to school by his grandparents. Diomedes and his five brothers are supported from the salaries of his clerk father (at the Ministry of Education and Culture) and his mother who works as a Rural Youth Development Officer at the Bureau of Agricultural Extension.

The Madanguit children are intelligent and ambitious. Perhaps, it is the quiet example of the parents rather than explicit orders that make them plan for their future. Unlike many Boholano children, the Madanguits are optimistic that they can make it to college through

sheer hard work and prayers. Since they were small, the children have already known the value of service and cooperation. Since each of them are only a year old apart, the family had been faced with the problem who was to keep watch of the smaller children. They could not afford a house maid so the parents asked each of those who were still in grade school to sacrifice taking turns in being absent half of the day twice or more each week. Those who had a scheduled examination were to report to class, the one who had none watched the smaller children; in other words, they took turns in who was to stay home. Because of this arrangement, the older children did not make it to the honor roll when they were in grade school, even though they showed brilliance in their class. However, from this, the children have learned to love each other more and learned the value of service to each other. When the children grew up (only one is a preschooler now), the usual arrangement was no longer upheld. The smaller ones could already be brought to school with the older one.

For a large family like the Madanguits, organized housework is a must -- division of labor had to be imposed. The children have been given this orientation and things went on smoothly for them despite the frequent absence of their parents. Their mother, the only female at home, is well-loved by the children.

The Madanguit parents were first confronted with the feeling of financial inadequacy when their eldest would not stop trying to enrol in the seminary of Tagbilaran. He could have waited until he graduated from high school, but he was insistent on starting seminary life in high school. For the parents, it was really difficult considering the small income and the successive coming of babies as well as big expenses at the seminary. But the strong determination of their son was enough to make them unfearful of the hardships to come. In 1979 he was ordained. The second child took up Agriculture in Musuan, Bukidnon then in Bilar, Bohol. He is now technician in-charge of the Palayang Bayan in Oroquieta. The third child, and the only daughter left home after high school to work in Cagayan de Oro and to continue her studies. At that time she did not want to witness the hardships of her parents, so she decided to find her own life. She was able to work

at the GSIS and enrol at Xavier University. On her third year of AB in Economics, she married. She left Cagayan in April 1980 to live in Dipolog where her husband was detailed. The fourth child is a half scholar at the Bilar Agricultural College and is now graduating. The fifth is taking aeronautical engineering in Cebu and is only in his second year. The next child is Diomedes who is looking forward to the release of the results of the examination he took in November and to the trip to Cotabato. He commented that nowadays, it is not easy raising a family. It is better to be a priest because one can serve better and life would not be as hard as that of a parent. The seventh child is now in junior high school and a full COCOFED scholar. Since grade school, he has been a consistent honor student. He said that he had always wanted to be a physician. He wished that there will be a COCOFED scholarship for medical students. The eighth child lives with his paternal grandparents where he runs errands for them. Three other children are in grade school and like their older siblings already have careers on their mind.

In 1979, Ramonchita, the only daughter in the family, volunteered to send one brother to school in Cagayan de Oro City. The parents chose the seventh child, Salvio, to live with his sister. Before he left, though, he took the COCOFED scholarship examinations. He had already left Bohol when results of the examinations were released. He was sent back home in the summer and Diomedes was to take his place. But Diomedes left Bohol in June. He found life in Cagayan too stifling (he could not go around as freely as he did in his hometown) and polluted. Besides, he missed the company of his brothers. At the close of the schoolyear, he went home. It was also timely since his sister's family was to move out later to Dipolog. For Diomedes, an attractive place would be one which is peaceful (no rebels fighting) but lively. He also likes a place that is progressive, that is, has many job opportunities. He believes that the following are the most important needs of the Municipality of Balilihan: 1) cemented or asphalted road; 2) maintenance of cleanliness and beautification of the place; 3) installation of irrigation system in order that rice farming will be continuous -- in their place, farmers have to wait

for rain before they can plant rice which inhibits the farmer from producing more than three times a year. Diomedes also believes that job availability is needed by their community. He cites native home product industries such as basket making as income generating. He does not believe in their need for help from the government since many government agencies are already serving the community. For him, the MLGCD, POPCOM, CENSUS, BAEx, are already working well enough for their municipality.

His concept of success consists in working hard, and perseverance despite problems in life. He does not believe that to be successful, one needs to graduate in a course. "Daghang malampuson nga wala kaagi sa pag-eskwela. Pananglit kanang mga businessmen -- ang uban ana nila wala man gani makaeskwela pero malampuson man." (Many successful persons have not gone to school but they are successful.) He therefore equates success with economic stability, and upgraded economic status.

#### Summary Notes:

1. The migration of Diomedes is more closely attributed to the role that kinship plays in the Filipino family which is more strongly manifest in the Boholano family life. In the desire to help her family in finances, the outmigrant daughter (whose outmigration was motivated by financial difficulty of the family) had to support one sibling in school.
2. Ambition in life, e.g., pursuing a career, is the prime motivating factor for the Madanguit children to leave their place. First, the eldest who is a priest had to leave home to study outside. It was a necessity to leave because Bohol does not have schools for the career of priesthood. Then the only daughter had also to leave Bohol in order that she can go on with her course. The third case was Diomedes -- if he did not outmigrate, he would have skipped one year in school. And now that he has completed high school, he has to leave again because his career cannot be pursued in Bohol.

## APPENDIX A

### Aquilino Gonzales (Returnee)

The community of Soom, Trinidad is mainly dependent upon farming for livelihood. To help augment the household income, most wives make hats and mats for sale during market days. During months of farm work, wives and children help in the farm. During summer vacations, students and young children work as helpers in inter-island boats that go fishing in the Visayan islands. On these trips, they earn a little money that is already enough to buy school supplies at the opening of the school-year. Boys and girls alike help in the farm, either that of their parents or of someone else's (where they get paid) or both.

Aquilino Gonzales, 21 years old and fourth of 10 children has been brought up in the community described above. He was born there and spent most of his life there, broken only by his temporary trips to other places. When at home, Aquilino and his siblings were right-hand partners of their father in the farm.

The father of Aquilino was also born in Soom where they are living now. His mother was born and raised in an island which is part of a nearby municipality. While his father was raised on a farm, his mother was oriented to a life of the sea. This combination of occupations has been unconsciously assimilated by Aquilino, as you will find out later in the account of his work experiences and migration history.

All his life, Aquilino's father has not taken up residence in places other than the barrio of Soom. But within Soom, he had moved about to several houses. The most important reason that made him stay here is the land he inherited from his father as well as those he and his wife had bought from time to time. He has mostly engaged in farm work. The only time he tried non-farm work was in 1968. With a capital of about ₱6,000, he engaged in the buying and selling of mats and charcoal which he travelled to Iligan's Union Carbide. He rented two bancas at ₱500 and ₱600; he paid for all maintenance costs. In the two bancas, he had 14 men for a crew. The business

would have been greatly profitable were it not for minor storms that they met three times within the same year. The charcoal was not put in sacks but were just stored right into the banca. With the storms blowing, the water washed out the charcoal. The little that remained were wet. He would have wanted to go on but all his capital was gone.

Unlike most Boholanos, Aquilino's father had not travelled much when he was young. The only time he did was in 1950-51. With a cousin and a neighbor, he left for Cagayan de Oro to study in the evenings. He was a working student, had worked in a bakery and was a construction helper at the Coca-Cola plant. All in all, he was in Cagayan for only 13 months -- he did not persevere in his studies (he completed only two years in high school). Since then he had not left Bohol for a duration of more than three full months before he got married. It was during his married years, that he seemed to go out more frequently than before. The first was the Bohol - Iligan trips he made in 1968. Then in 1974, he spent four months in Tagum, Davao working as laborer in a banana plantation. His original purpose in going to Davao, however, was to visit his brother. Then this was followed by a return trip (of three full months) in 1978 when he went after his third child. In 1979, he again left for Bayugan, Agusan when he bought his son and himself a farm. He and his wife tilled the newly purchased land and left afterwards. Now that they have a two-hectare farm there, the couple will be crossing over every now and then after the work in the farm in Bohol has been done. They even plan to buy more parcels there to farm because land in Bayugan is much cheaper than in Bohol. They have no specific amount of money to spend but hope to save from their income from the farm, which is why they do not encourage their children to depend upon them (their parents) for education beyond high school.

As of the present, the family owns a total of 9 hectares of farm land, three and a half of which is inherited, and five and a half bought out of the sales of cows (these cows were also inherited by Aquilino's father). These include the parcel in Bayugan, Agusan Sur. The two-hectare farm is being planted with rice which is rainfed and fertilized. Aquilino's father used to have a dam of rainwater

but it recently collapsed and he did not rebuild it. The family has two working carabaos for the farm. They also have four cows but these are not used for farm work.

Of the ten children, three are married - one resides in Bayugan, Agusan, the others are living nearby. Five of the children are living in the household and one is studying in Surigao City. Only Aquilino is not in school. The brother who is attending night high school in Surigao City is self-supporting. He helps in his uncle's auto repair shop and drives a motorcab in order to pay for his tuition and other school expenses and buy himself clothes. An 18-year old sister is taking up Medical Technology in the only university in Tagbilaran City. She gets support from parents. There are two grade school boys that the family sends to school. One is a friend's son and the other a nephew.

The mother of Aquilino had never wanted her children to out-migrate because she missed them and was worried when they were not home. However, his father felt that they should, if only to gain experience in life. Of all the children, only the eldest was not allowed to leave home before she got married. She would have wanted to go to Manila but her mother did not allow her on the excuse that she would lose help at home. The second child who is currently a self-supporting high school senior, had worked for two years in a banana plantation in Davao in the hope of saving for the resumption of his education. However, when he was there, he seemed to have neglected his dream; he had not saved. Disapproving of his apparently fruitless sojourn, his father went after him to take him home. Once home again, he helped in the farm (it was planting time) but he still wanted to go back to school. His father advised him to resume his education in Surigao City where he could work in his uncle's auto repair shop. Up to now, he is still there. The third son got married in Bohol, and transferred to Gingoog City where he helped his in-laws till a tenanted farm. When the in-laws transferred to Bayugan, Agusan Sur, his family went with them, having heard that there are vast of lands that are not cultivated there. For sometime, he shared working on a tenanted land with his in-laws but later he realized it was more

self-gratifying if he had his own. Not having the means to buy his own lot at that time, he requested his father to buy him the farm. Now he works on a two-hectare farm, and at the same time keeps watch of his father's which he bought for himself along with his. The fifth child was sent to Surigao City to study Pharmacy but when her elder brother went, she returned home and shifted to Medical Technology (since Pharmacy is not offered in Tagbilaran City). Two other children are in high school and another two in the grade school, all of whom are living with Aquilino and their parents.

After his second year in high school, Aquilino had been helping his father in the farm. The first time he left home was in 1977. His maternal uncle lacked workers in his inter-island fishing boat that time and he asked Aquilino if he was interested to come with him. At that time, the farm was growing seedlings and the paddies were ready for the coming planting. Since he could now be spared of farm work, he went with his uncle. The inter-island boat sailed to the islands of Samar, Masbate, and Palawan to buy fish after which the fish was salted, canned and then sold in Butuan City. This fascinated him, and he wanted to have some experience in this type of business. Apart from the experience, he was also to earn a little money from this trip. He noted: "Mangita lague ta'g experiencia... kinahanglan man god ning tawo'g kahibawo. Maburong man sab ta'g nia ta permi's bay." (I just wanted to gain experience... man needs to learn (about things not taught in school). We become shy when we confine ourselves to the house.) After seven months of sailing, he returned home and, as before, helped his father in the farm. Talking about his getting back to the farm, he remarked: "Tabang na pod ko diri kay human na man pod ko'g tabang sa lain. Alang-alang sigue la'g hatag og tabang sa uban unya sa amo wala na. Alkansi ta niana." (I am back helping here because I have already helped others. There is no sense always extending help to others and none for us for the family. That is not fair.) He stayed only two months home as he had to accompany his father to Davao to take his older brother home. They stayed three months there before they could bring his brother home. A year later, Aquilino left home once more - this time with the purpose of going back to school



(third year high). This opportunity was conceived when Aquilino's father and an old friend met and talked about old times. This old friend of his is now a survey engineer in Cagayan de Oro. Aquilino's father mentioned of his son's interest in going back to school and that he can only make it if he goes to work at daytime and study at night. Since these friends were themselves working students since high school, the survey engineer agreed that it was a good idea and that he was taking Aquilino to help him in his surveys. Aquilino, interested not only in going to school but also in learning about land survey, was glad to get this opportunity. He felt that it would not be lonely because he had a cousin in Cagayan who was a driver. So in February of 1979, he left home. He started working as survey helper in May. Before that, he helped at home. He learned a lot from the surveys they did and he remarked that his experience was a great help for his family who has a farm because most surveyors either deduct from or add to the right measurement of the land (depending on which one was to their advantage). It sounded as if when his curiosity about land survey was satisfied, he was less willing to stay on. When there was trouble in his employer's family which involved him and a nephew of the engineer's wife, he left and did not mind getting himself back to school. He said that he did not like trouble. He arrived home in July 1979 but left again in December. He was invited by his godfather to join his fishing trips to Palawan. With the farm work done and permission from parents granted, he went off to Palawan. He was not paid but got free meals. He was out to sea for six months and went home only after his parents notified him that he had to go home because his father was going to work on their farm in Payugan. Since then, Aquilino has not yet left home again. At interview time, he was engaged to a girl from his mother's place - an island - and was scheduled to get married in May 1981. He does not have definite plans for the future because "Wa pa man gani ta masayod sa lakaw sa atong kinabuhi" (We still don't know what develops later in life). As to the kind of job he would want, he cannot say. But he said, anything goes for him. Right now, he amuses himself with short visits to a nearby town and to the island where his girlfriend lives.

His travels were a teacher to him. He said that it is better to migrate than stay home because it gives him enjoyment, experience and in the process dispels shyness. He added that in learning, it is effective to observe and participate in the activity that is to be learned rather than just hear or read about it, as can be seen in the way he learned about inter-island fishing and business, and surveying.

## APPENDIX A

### Adriano Torillo (Returnee)

Born to natives of Tagbilaran, Adriano Torillo, the eldest of seven children was born in Tiptip, Tagbilaran (the same barrio where his own family now lives) on September 8, 1940. At age 22, with four years of elementary grades behind him, he married Francisca Madrona who comes from Liloan, Southern Leyte. They bore seven children - five girls and two boys. The eldest, a boy, works as "hurnero" in a bakery in Tagbilaran and earns ₱7 a day. For his 16-year old son, earning this much and being able to help his family is much more rewarding than going to school while at the same time witnessing the hardship of the family. This was why he stopped going to school last year, at the middle of the school year, and found himself a job. He completed only one year of high school. The second child, a girl, aged 15 goes to a private sectarian school and is currently a sophomore. Four children with ages ranging from 7-11 years go to the barrio elementary school in Tiptip. The youngest, aged five, stays with her mother who manages the house as well as a small sari-sari store built on the lot where the basketball court is located and for which she pays ₱10 in rent per year to the barrio. Adriano, the household head, remarked that this store has been giving him a headache because it does not seem to give them profit but his wife insists on keeping it because business is good on Sundays (when barrio folks gather together to talk). The family lives mainly on Adriano's income as a pedicab driver. He rents a cab at ₱12 a day and earns an average of ₱15 daily. The family owns a farm lot which grows corn and ubi. It is also the wife's responsibility to tend to the farm on days when she does not open her store.

Adriano was only six years old when his family left Tiptip to live in Tangub, Misamis Occidental. He recalled that there were four children then and his father who used to work in Tangub as "lab-aero" (fish vendor) tired of crossing the sea back and forth to see his family and then go to work. So he decided to bring his family with him to

Tangub. His mother used to sell firewood in Tagbilaran but in Tangub, she opened a sari store. They returned to Tiptip years after.

School did not lure him so rather than complete the elementary grades, he decided to work after the fourth grade. He was about eleven years old when he engaged in shine shoe work, along with his two other brothers. Then when he was about 12, he shifted to selling sweep-stakes tickets and newspapers. He earned an average of ₱1.50/day for selling newspapers and earned as much as ₱6.00 on the sweep-stakes. At the time, he gave his earnings to his mother (as with his two younger brothers) who had difficulty breastfeeding her youngest who had a harelip. The children's earning was used to buy canned milk for the baby. At age 14, Adriano worked in a bakya making shop in a nearby barrio. Later, the machine had to be transferred to a town in the interior several kilometers from Tagbilaran. For a year, he worked away from home. Later on, however, the machine had to be transferred back to its original location, that is, near Tagbilaran. Adriano was paid ₱1.50 per hundred pairs of bakya for children, ₱2.00 for small-sized ones, ₱2.50 for medium-sized ones, and ₱3.00 for the large-sized. He worked six days a week for three years.

When Adriano was seventeen years old (that is, in the year 1957), he became engaged in the same work in another part of Bohol. Not long afterwards, however, along with two others, he left his work in favor of the same type of work in Tubod, Lanao del Norte. The owner of the "bakya" shop in Tubod was from Tiptip. The recruitment of Adriano and two others from Tiptip was done through the mail. Although the pay was pretty much the same, Adriano and his companions preferred the work in Tubod because work there was much faster than in Tagbilaran where material was not sufficient to guarantee continuous work. In Tubod, the material for "bakya" was abundant. He observed that while bakya making was good in that place, other work opportunities were not. Most men there labored in the port.

In July 1961, his mother died. Adriano returned home in August, a few weeks delayed since he was told she was just seriously ill. During this return, he was able to work for about five days in the highway as laborer for which he earned ₱4 a day. A month later, he

left for Compostela Davao with six others (4 girls and 2 boys). He said "Nadasig lang pod ko adtong akong kuyog kay ingon silang lami kuno didto's Davao - sigue ang grabaho. Gusto lang pod ko makataak og laing lugar." (I was encouraged by my companions because they said that it is a good place -- there is always work to do. I just wanted to go to a different place.) When they arrived in Compostela, however, he did not like it there because the work available was agricultural in nature. With one of his companions from Bohol, he left for the city and stayed with a "paisano" (kababayan) for one whole month while he was looking for work. He attributed his taking long to get employed to his inability to speak Tagalog. His first job there was as a houseboy in an optical clinic which advertised for a house helper. He lasted for only 11 days in that household because his "amo" (boss) was a drunkard and he was forcing Adriano to drink however much he protested. Moreover, food given to him was not enough, it was literally measured. Through a friend, he learned about a vacancy in a restaurant, so he applied and was employed as a helper. His stay was only two weeks because he ran down a fever and had lock jaw for over a week. Getting no medical treatment, he just took constant baths and a regular massage until he recovered. All the time, he had to stay in that clinic where he was formerly employed because he had a friend there who could serve him his meals.

His next job was as a kitchen helper for two months in a carenderia. When the cook of that carenderia was transferred to one of the several branches, Adriano replaced him and was paid three times higher than his salary as kitchen helper. He stayed in that carenderia for two years.

In June 1963, he married a Leyteña who was a waitress in that same carenderia. When they were married, they rented a place to stay. They continued working in that same carenderia but after his wife conceived, he made Francisca stay home. When she was on her ninth month of pregnancy, they went home to Bohol, that trip being Francisca's first visit to Bohol.

In less than a month after arrival, Adriano learned how to drive a pedicab from his younger brother who was driving one at the time. Since then he became a pedicab driver in Tagbilaran until another younger brother made him an offer to go back to Davao to drive his

(brother's) cab. In September 1972 he went back to Davao City but stayed only one week because he found out that the motor cab was no longer in very good working condition. He went home and back to driving in Tagbilaran.

In 1973, his uncle encouraged him to go with him to Catiil, Davao Oriental because he was planning to buy a brand new pedicab. His uncle bought the motor in Cebu and it took the motor one week to arrive in Davao. The delay of the arrival plus the time required for the cab to be done was too much for Adriano. He has very anxious about earning money as he had just left his family without money. He was given another alternative by his uncle to drive his passenger jeep while waiting for the cab to be finished and meanwhile send his family money (as cash advance) but he declined the offer because the jeep was not in good running condition, and returned home. Upon his return, he resumed driving his own cab (which he paid on installment basis). When his wife had a caesarian operation in her last childbirth in 1976, Adriano sold his pedicab. He went back renting another pedicab.

One of Adriano's brothers had been driving a pedicab in Cagayan for a long time and in 1978, a friend of this brother who was operating a restaurant in Cagayan was in need of a cook. His brother was sent to Bohol to get Adriano who already had two years experience as a cook in Davao. At the time, Adriano was driving a rented cab and five of his seven children were already going to school, the eldest in first year high school. His wife then was tending their small farm which was the source of their grain consumption. The offer of ₱360 a month plus free cigarettes and soap was good enough for Adriano, compared to his earning as pedicab driver. He thought that if he was able to receive full amount of the ₱360 (since he need not buy his cigarettes and soap) he could save. So, in a matter of four hours, he decided to go with his brother to Cagayan even if it was an on-the-spot decision and his wife was not very willing to agree with him. (His brother arrived in the morning and the boat left four hours afterwards.) Although he worked there for only 11 months, he went home every two months or if he couldn't go home, he sent money via telegraphic transfer once or twice a month.

Adriano describes his work in Cagayan as "hayahay" (comfortable in the sense that it wasn't heavy and taking much of his time). After 12.00 p.m., he could rest and go out to wherever he chose. Occasionally, he spent his idle hours seeing a film. But often, he volunteered to fetch water or buy firewood. He delighted in these tasks because these give him the chance to go out of the place and for him it served as a "pasyal". Moreover, he needed to go on a pedicab for these tasks, and he drove himself. He was delighted to see many people milling around on the way -- a phenomenon so unlike his place of origin. On some occasions, Adriano chose to talk the hours away with pedicab drivers he befriended around the place. If he was not feeling up to it, he just slept. All in all, he could not pick out any problems while he was away from home. His only problem was when he did not feel well, at home, one could take a day off from work but when one is employed, it's difficult to do so.

For his wife, Francisca, Adriano's employment in Cagayan was not an advantage because she thought the money sent to her family was not enough. For the migrant, it was good enough. Adriano felt that this disagreement would soon develop into big trouble. He also thought that should misfortune come to his family while he was away, he would be to blame. With this negative feeling pervading his everyday thoughts, he did not realize that he was affected by losing the appetite for food hence leading to him not feeling well. Simultaneously, he began to notice the bad temper of his Tagala "amo". He told himself: "I have had enough of this." So he went home.

In the July background survey, the wife of Adriano reported that the main reason for Adriano's return was that he was discontented with his salary, hence his going back to driving a pedicab. From the different versions, we could deduce that proxy responding as well as structured interviews often lead to incorrect reporting of the real motives of moving.

While still in Cagayan, Adriano was considering the idea of driving a pedicab there or getting into another job. If he did the first, it was just like he was in Tagbilaran, so he might as well go home. If he chose the second, he could not be sure his new "amo" would be good to him; if not, then he will have to go home anyway.

## NOTES:

1. Adriano had moved a lot before he came over to Cagayan. He had been brought up by migrant parents. In fact, he still remembers the family had transferred residence to Misamis Occidental when he was very young.
2. When Adriano moved out of Bohol, he was either leaving with a group to explore or was being invited by relatives.
3. All his migrations were stimulated by his desire to find a job. In the case of Cagayan, he was looking for a better income.
4. In two of his migrations which were both to Davao in order to drive the pedicab of his brother and uncle, it appeared that he did not give it enough prior thought because when he found out that the conditions were not to his favor (e.g., the cab was taking long to be finished, or was no longer in the condition he expected), he had no qualms about going home. If he were really keen on getting a job, he would have tried getting one instead of surrendering. The same was true when he made the decision to leave for Cagayan in a matter of hours.
5. The many attempts of Adriano to migrate did not lead him to decide to leave Bohol permanently. It appears that his outmigration is to earn cash to bring to Bohol rather than as a step in later deciding to reside in area of destination. His getting married in Davao was already one chance for him to start and continue his life there. But he chose to return to Bohol.
6. Like Adriano, his son does not like to get a higher education because his more immediate need is to help augment the family income.
7. The wife of Adriano is more comfortable to have him work in Tagbilaran despite the smaller income than let him outmigrate in order to earn more. This is quite a common Boholano trait.



## APPENDIX B

### NOTES ON AVERAGE WEIGHTED SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCORE FOR HOUSEHOLDS (MADIGAN, UNDATED)

#### Introduction

These notes were taken from Reverend Francis C. Madigan's Methodology of Rating Socioeconomic Status. Indicators used in the Bohol Case Study were substituted in four out of nine that Madigan had listed.

Socioeconomic status is not the same as socioeconomic class. First, a household with medium socioeconomic status (SES) in a rural barangay may well not belong to the middle social class. Secondly, status differences can exist where numbers are too small for the consciousness of kind and interaction of a social class, e.g., in some municipal poblacion where only two or three families are found of upper SES.

The general methodology of assigning a weighted average SES score to the household on the basis of indicators of his SES are distinguished from specification of some concrete item of a SES indicator to location in a particular SES (e.g., lower, middle, upper).

#### Methodology

- 1) In this study, SES is considered as an attribute of a household. Individual household members share the status of their household.
- 2) The method assumes the existence of three distinguishable socioeconomic statuses: (1) lower, (2) middle, and (3) upper status.
- 3) To determine the SES category to which a household belongs, nine socioeconomic indicators (items) are used and combined into one socioeconomic status score. These indicators are:

- (1) Occupation of household head

- (2) Occupation of wife\*
- (3) Highest grade completed by head
- (4) Lot and house ownership\*
- (5) Type of toilet facility owned by household
- (6) Type of lighting used in household
- (7) Appliances owned by household (pick one with the highest score)
- (8) Building materials used\*
- (9) Source of drinking water\*

4) Each item serving as an indicator is rated as to whether it represents lower, middle, or upper SES in the context of the community in which it is found and is assigned an item score:

Lower SES	1
Middle SES	2
Upper SES	3

The assignment of item scores are based on guidelines: (1) Chart for Location of Items on Socioeconomic Scale, (2) Guide to Status Category of Occupations of Household Heads.

5) Since not all indicators are of equal importance in determining the status location of a household, each item score is to be weighted (multiplied) by a fixed weight.

<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Occupation of head	7
Occupation of wife	6
Highest grade completed by head	5
House and lot ownership	3
Type of toilet	1

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\* These are the substitutions to Madigan's

- 1) household income
- 2) number of rooms in dwelling unit
- 3) predominant materials of which walls of dwelling unit are constructed
- 4) predominant materials of which floors in dwelling unit are constructed

They are cited in the order the substitutions proceed.

Type of lighting	1
Appliances owned	3
Building materials	3
Source of drinking water	1
Total Score	30

- 6) The average weighted score of SES of a household is equal to

$$\frac{\sum (\text{INDICATOR SCORE}) \times (\text{WEIGHT})}{\sum (\text{WEIGHTS})}$$

- 7) Cut-off points for determining the SES of a household and the corresponding status codes are:

<u>Score Range</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Code</u>
less than 1.74	lower	1
between 1.74 and 2.69	middle	2
between 2.70 and 3.00	upper	3

- 8) For calculation of the status score of a household, the appended Worksheet for Coding SES of Households is used.

- 9) In case no information is available for a particular socioeconomic household indicator (no response in questionnaire), set item score and item weight equal to zero.

## Coding Worksheet for Socioeconomic Status of Households

Municipality: \_\_\_\_\_

Ecological Type: \_\_\_\_\_

Barrio: \_\_\_\_\_

## Household Number Score and Code

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Items in Questionnaire	Item Score	Weight	Weighted Score(2x3)
(1) Household # _____				
Household Head:	C1		7	
_____	C2		6	
(2) Status Score:	B9		5	
$\sum \frac{(4)}{(3)} =$	C8a&b		3	
_____	C7		3	
	C10		3	
(3) Status Code:	C6		1	
_____	C3		1	
	C5		1	
Sum ( $\Sigma$ )			30	

### The Case History Phase

#### I Background Characteristics

#### II Migration History (as far back into the past as rsp can recall)

1. the migratory behavior of the parents and/or the migrant in the past may have conditioned the migrant to do the same at the present in search for a better life.
2. recall will be aided by associating the moves with the migrant's age, education, occupation, marital status.
3. to get an idea of the place (for each move), migrant is asked of his attitudes towards, impressions of the new residence, what were things that attracted him most and/or what he did not like about the place.
4. the occupations of parents and the grown up children in each residence: if same as in previous ones, or different, the migrant's opinion will be asked as to the most probable reasons for migration.
5. the migrant's association with residents in each new residence will be explored, e.g. with whom he spent his leisure hours, possible membership in organizations and activities of these organizations.
6. if migration was without his family, he will be asked whether he sends money, goods to his family/household, or communicates with them.

### III Social Forces

(What we are or what we become, in terms of our thinking, believing, and acting (or attitudes and decisions) is to the greatest extent predetermined, limited, or otherwise seriously influenced by the expectations or the standards which are typical of the social groups with which we identify ourselves (Lindgren) ).

#### A The Family or Household of Orientation

1. description of the migrant's family or household of orientation
2. account of an ordinary day in the life of the family
3. parental expectations of himself as opposed to that of his parents

#### B The Group of the Migrant (Gang)

1. description of his gang
2. influences of his peers on himself - expectations of his gang of him and his assimilation of their values

#### C The Community (from the point of view of the migrant as well as from a selected number of residents)

1. description of the community of origin
2. expectations of the community of its youth in terms of education, occupation

### IV Present Migration

1. circumstances, events leading to the outmigration
2. informational links between migrant and migrants to CDO prior to outmigration
3. notions about Cagayan prior to outmigration

# SEAPRAP

## THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

### PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- \* To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.
- \* To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.
- \* To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

### ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

- \* Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.
- \* Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.
- \* Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.
- \* Inter-relationships between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).
- \* Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.
- \* Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

- \* Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

### SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

### DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US\$7,500.

### QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

- \* Graduate students in thesis programs
- \* Faculty members
- \* Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.